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STUDIES IN TO-BIBLIOGRAPHY

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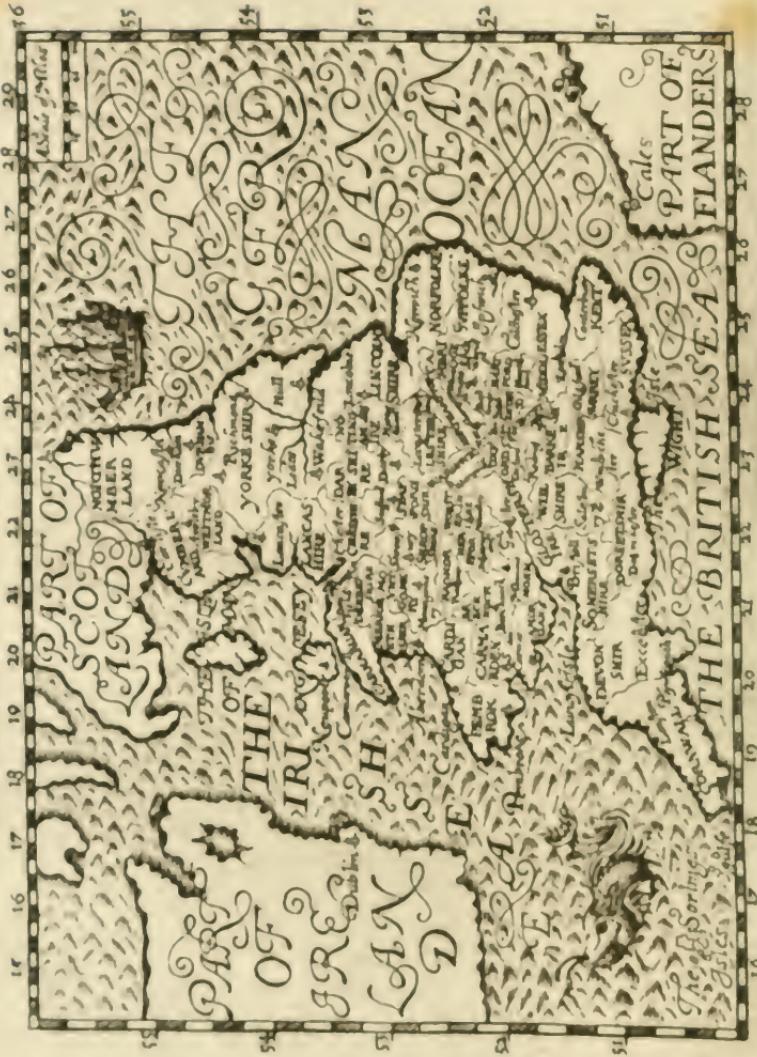


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A TYPE OF ENGLAND



MAP OF ENGLAND AND WALES SHOWING THE COUNTIES

From

*The abridgement of
Camden's Britannia
With*

*The Maps of the severall
Shires of England
and Wales.*

Printed by John Bill Printer to the King's most excellent Majestie. 1626.

London, ob. 8vo.

STUDIES IN
CARTO-BIBLIOGRAPHY
BRITISH AND FRENCH
AND IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ITINERARIES
AND ROAD-BOOKS

BY
SIR HERBERT GEORGE FORDHAM

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1914

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TO THE MEMORY OF
RICHARD GOUGH
(*b.* 1735 *d.* 1809)

DIRECTOR OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF LONDON

WHO BY HIS LABORIOUS COLLECTION OF MATERIALS AND BY
MANY IMPORTANT PUBLICATIONS HAS PRESERVED FOR
US A FULL KNOWLEDGE OF BRITISH TOPOGRAPHY
TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
AND HAS INSPIRED OTHERS TO ATTEMPT
THE FURTHER STUDY OF THIS SUBJECT
AND ITS LITERATURE UP TO
THE PRESENT TIME

1914

PREFACE

THE papers here reprinted, after a more or less complete revision, have been thought worthy of rescue from the oblivion of the Transactions and other publications of various Societies and of private impressions.

They represent considerable labour, spread over the past sixteen or seventeen years, in a domain of bibliographical study which has, in modern days, received but little attention.

Indeed it will, it is believed, be found on examination that most of the matter incorporated in the present volume is both new in substance as a contribution to our systematic bibliographical knowledge and original in the form in which it is cast.

Road-Books and Itineraries, although representing a not inconsiderable mass of printed and engraved books, published over a lengthy period of time, and containing much that is interesting in character and method, and some features of historical and geographical importance, seem never at any time to have received, as a bibliographical group, the slightest attention.

Collections of County Maps in the British Isles are both rare, and, when attempted to be formed, have been, for want of knowledge of their possibilities, usually very incomplete and ill arranged.

In these two minor departments of bibliography a foundation has now been laid in the papers here reprinted and in the complete catalogues of the maps

of Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire published by the author, those of Lancashire and Cheshire by Mr. William Harrison, of Wiltshire and Gloucestershire by Mr. Thomas Chubb, and those in preparation of Somersetshire by the latter, and of the East Riding of Yorkshire by Mr. Thomas Sheppard.

At the same time attention has been drawn to the many gaps in the collections of atlases and topographical works illustrated with maps in the national and university and other principal Libraries, and efforts are being made in some cases to remedy this defect.

In the United States of America the Library of Congress has collected a large series of important atlases, and the printed catalogue of atlases issued by that Library, giving a description of the atlases and the maps they contain, with notes, is of the greatest value not only for its intrinsic merits, but as a first effort in systematic bibliography in this branch of the science.

The whole question of the best method of arrangement of maps and atlases, and of the art of cataloguing such materials, is of great interest, and merits study.

Indications of the points worth discussion, as well as examples of methods already adopted, are to be found in some of the following papers.

Apology is certainly due to the reader for the miscellaneous aspect this collection presents, both in the titles of the several sections of which it consists and in the text itself.

What has been aimed at in the selection offered to the public is a suggestive *résumé* of labour in a certain limited and hitherto unworked field, which has involved the consideration of a number of minor issues in the science of bibliography, mainly technical, and the examination of several outlooks on history as well as on geography.

In these studies the author has followed the inspiration which is to be derived from the labours of Richard Gough—to whose memory he has thought it appropriate to dedicate this volume. It is certain that without the accumulation of topographical works associated with the name of that industrious collector, and now safely housed in the Bodleian Library, and the collections made by others in imitation of or rivalry with him that bibliographical research in the department of topography in respect of the period up to the end of the eighteenth century would be even more difficult than it is. This is at once apparent when an attempt is made to pursue any study of cartographical literature through the earlier half of the following century.

It is hoped that what is now published may be useful in attracting public attention to a number of matters of bibliographical interest connected with geographical and historical study, and may be found to contain a good deal which adds to our breadth of view and to actual information in these branches of knowledge.

ODSEY, *May* 1, 1914.

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STUDIES IN CARTO-BIBLIOGRAPHY
BRITISH AND FRENCH

I

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE
CARTOGRAPHY OF THE ENGLISH AND
WELSH COUNTIES, WITH AN INDEX LIST
OF THE MAPS OF HERTFORDSHIRE, 1579-
1900

IN the latter part of the sixteenth and the commencement of the seventeenth centuries cartography achieved a considerable development, dependent in a large measure on two causes—the increase of navigation and the invention of the arts of printing and of engraving on wood and copper.

So much attention was given to this subject that, in the first edition of his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570), Ortelius was able to give, in a *Catalogus Auctorum tabularum geographicarum*, the names of nearly a hundred cartographers; and, in subsequent editions of his great work, Ortelius' list increases first to 134 and then to 170 names.

Many atlases and collections of maps, some with and some without historical and geographical letterpress, were published at this period. Most of these works had their origin in the Low Countries, where an important school of map-engravers and map-makers had grown up.

Of this school Gerhard Krämer, commonly known as Mercator (1512-94), who first used the title 'Atlas' for a collection of maps, is esteemed as the founder of modern cartography;¹ and Abraham Ortelius of Antwerp (1527-98), Jodocus Hondius of Amsterdam (1563-1611), and Henricus Hondius, his son, William Janszoon Blaeu (1571-

¹ Ortelius calls him "nostri saeculi Ptolemaeus".

1638)¹ and his two sons Jan Blaeu and Cornelis Blaeu, and Jan Janszoon of Antwerp, were well known and prolific in their work. Peter Keer also engraved a great many maps, although he was, apparently, not himself a publisher. Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-77), a native of Bohemia, who settled in London, and engraved a vast number of portraits, views, plans, and maps, belongs to this period, although his maps were mostly published towards the end of the seventeenth century.

But native topographers and engravers were not wanting in the British Isles. The first modern map of England and Wales was the work of a Welshman, Humphrey Lhuyd of Denbighshire, and was published in 1569, but it must be noted that Mercator had a few years earlier drawn a large map of the British Isles, of which the manuscript (dated 1564) has recently been discovered at Breslau. This map measures 50 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 35 inches, and is drawn on a scale of fourteen miles to the inch. It has now been reproduced in facsimile by photography. A few years later Christopher Saxton brought out the first set of maps of the Counties of England and Wales, 35 in number. The surveying for and the draughting of these maps, which Saxton undertook and carried through successfully, must be esteemed a highly meritorious work, especially when one considers the means at his disposal, and for a century at least our county maps, whether engraved in England or on the Continent, are either copied from or almost entirely based upon his designs. Saxton's maps are now very rare in their original state and edition. They were published as a complete collection in 1579, the date on the engraved title-page, but the surveying and the publication of individual maps had then been going on for several years, some of the maps appearing as early as 1574 (Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Berkshire in one map, and Norfolk). Kent, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Suffolk are dated 1575, and the remainder 1576, 1577, and 1578. Hertfordshire

¹ William Blaeu was in 1633 appointed by public decree cartographer to the States-General; and it was his duty to examine the ships' logs and so amend the maps.

is of the year 1577, and is engraved by Nicholas Reynolds of London. This is the only map of Saxton's upon which Reynolds's name appears. Augustine Ryther, described as *Anglus*, engraved the frontispiece map of England, and also the maps of Gloucestershire, Yorkshire, Durham, and Westmorland.¹ Some of the maps are unsigned, others were the work of Remigius Hogenbergius,² Lenaert Terwoort of Antwerp, and other foreign artists.

Passing from the great work of Saxton, John Norden (1548–1625 or 1626) follows, in 1593, with his *Speculum Britanniae*, though, perhaps, the very interesting and artistic maps by Robert Adams and Ryther, showing the English and Spanish fleets and their engagements in the Channel, followed by a chart of the whole course of the Armada round the British Isles, published under the title and date, *Expeditionis Hispanorum in Angliam vera descriptio, Anno Do: MDLXXXVIII*, should be mentioned in passing as a specimen of native work.

Norden did not complete his design, and, though he surveyed other counties, he succeeded in publishing descriptions and maps of Middlesex (1593) and Hertfordshire (1598) only. In 1607 he issued his 'Surveyor's Dialogue', which was subsequently several times reprinted, and in 1625 he published his last work, 'An Intended Guyde, For English Travailers' (without maps), to which I shall refer again. He seems to have contributed to the series of county maps published by Speed in 1611,³ as well as to the maps published in the folio edition of Camden's *Britannia* in 1607, of which those of Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Hertfordshire, and Middlesex are attributed to him. Norden's Hertfordshire appeared in 1598, under the title 'Speculi Britanniar Pars. The description of Hartfordshire'. The map is engraved by William Kip. The work was republished, with the map newly engraved by

¹ Ryther, according to a note in the 'Typographical Antiquities', Ames and Herbert, London, 1790, 3 vols., 4to (vol. iii, p. 1652), kept a shop a little way from Leadenhall, near the sign of the Tower.

² Hogenbergius had settled in England, it seems.

³ Preface to the 'Intended Guyde'.

Senex, in 1723. This map is pretty closely copied from the original design, but has some differences.

Before quitting the county maps of the sixteenth century, I must call attention to the set of small maps copied from Saxton, and engraved by Peter Keer, or Pieter Van den Keere (in its Latinized form Petrus Kærius). They are first found printed, so far as I have been able to discover, in 1617, with Camden's text condensed in Latin. Many of them bear the signature *Petrus Kærius excavavit*, and a few are dated 1599. As they are obviously a uniform series, there can be no doubt but that they are all attributable to Keer and to the latter date.

But to revert to British cartography. In 1607, in the last Latin edition of Camden's *Britannia* (folio) published in the author's lifetime, we find a set of county maps by several engravers. They follow Saxton and Norden in design and detail. The same plates are used to illustrate Holland's translation of the *Britannia*, London, 1610,¹ and 1637, folio. Of the 53 county maps in these editions of Camden, 34 are engraved by William Kip, and 17 by William Hole. Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Hertfordshire, and Middlesex, as already noticed, are after Norden; the rest, with five exceptions only, are stated to be taken from Saxton.

John Speed's county maps in his 'Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine' (1611, etc.) are nearly all of them signed by Jodocus Hondius and dated 1610, but these maps, like those of Saxton, were some of them engraved and published individually at earlier dates than that attributable to the collection as a whole, the earliest being apparently Oxfordshire, 1605. Some of them are said to have been engraved by Abraham Goos.²

¹ In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is a copy of this edition with only the frontispiece map of England. It seems to be in its original binding, and therefore to have been published without the county maps found in other copies.

² Gough's 'Anecdotes of British Topography' (1768), p. 42, note. Richard Gough was connected with Herts, as he lived at Enfield, married, in 1774, Anne daughter of Thomas Hall, of Goldings, and was buried in the churchyard of Wormley, Herts (1735-1809).

The reprints, which are numerous and extend over more than a century and a half in time, always retain the original engraver's name, and very often the original date, which makes their study difficult.

The different editions may, however, be distinguished by the state of the impression, alterations and additions in the design itself, alterations in the publisher's imprint, and, as a last resource, by comparison of the text on the back, which differs in type and ornamentation in the various issues. Speed, in addition to his great works, 'The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine' and the 'History of Great Britaine', which were at first issued as one thick folio volume, but afterwards appeared separately, published an Epitome, or Abridgement, with Peter Keer's maps of 1599 (with English titles substituted on the plates for the original Latin, but otherwise unaltered) in small oblong 12mo, of which there were editions in 1620 (?), 1627, 1662, 1666, and 1676.

During the same period were appearing a set of curious little thin quarto books, consisting of engraved plates containing distance tables for the use of travellers, and minute skeleton maps of each county. The tables are copied from those in Norden's work of 1625.¹ In Norden's preface he says of the tables of distances: "It is a new invention . . . But for want of perticall dimensuration, I have been enforced, to borrow the helpe, as well of mine owne Maps which I have made, by travaile of divers Shires: now totally finished by the laborious travailes of Mr. Speede, whose Maps together with Mr. Saxtons and mine owne, have been the principall direction in this tedious worke."

The first of these little books consists of a set of engraved

¹ 'England An Intended Guyde, For English Travailers. Shewing in generall, how far one Citie, and many Shire-Townes in England, are distant from other. Together, with the Shires in particular: and the Cheife Townes in every of them. With a generall Table, of the most of the principall Townes in Wales. Invented and Collected, By John Norden. *Voluntas pro facultate.*' These tables are constructed upon the basis of the old British mile, the only measure of distance on roads prior to the perambulation of John Ogilby in the time of Charles II, when the principal roads of the country were first measured by the statute mile of 1760 yards.

plates four inches square, by Jacob van Langeren, dated 1635. The frontispiece is a circular map of England and Wales, which, as appears by the Latin inscription in the margin, shows the counties and principal towns, and the number of the parishes in each county. It is engraved by William Kip. A second edition appeared in the following year. In this, in the copy in the British Museum, is inserted an additional page of letterpress printed from type. These two editions were both sold by Mathew Simons. The only copies I have ever seen are two (1635 and 1636) in the British Museum and one each of 1635 and 1636 in the University Library, Cambridge, and the Bodleian Library respectively. The table and map of Herts from this work are reproduced in facsimile on page 22, *post*.

The plates, altered as to the maps, but without letterpress, were also used by Jenner in 1643, and in 1657 appeared a fuller work founded on those published by Simons: 'A Book of the Names of all Parishes, Market Towns, Villages, Hamblets, and Smallest Places, in England and Wales. Alphabetically set down, as they be in every Shire. With the Names of the Hundreds in which they are, and how many Towns there are in every Hundred,' etc. This also was published by Jenner, and contained a printed list of places, together with impressions from the original plates of Van Langeren altered by the obliteration of his skeleton maps, and the insertion in their place of larger and more detailed though still very small maps of the counties. This 'Book of the Names' was republished in 1662 (Samuel Pepys's copy, preserved in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge, is of this date) and 1668, by Jenner, and again by John Garret in 1677. The tables of distances were again used, copied in the same form on a larger scale, in the *Magna Britannia et Hibernia* of the Rev. Thomas Cox, published 1720-31, 6 vols., 4to, and the model has been frequently adopted in topographical works both in this country and abroad from that day to the present time.

In the middle of the seventeenth century the rival families

of Blaeu and Jansson were publishing in Holland their large folio atlases, with editions in various languages (Latin, French, German, Spanish, Dutch, and Flemish), incorporating verbatim, in the volume appropriated to England, the text of Camden, and with maps of the English counties. Blaeu gives Hertfordshire in one map. In Jansson's atlas Middlesex and Hertfordshire are in the same sheet. The series of earlier maps is closed by Richard Blome, who, in his *Britannia* (1673), folio, copies his predecessors, but in very poor style.

Contemporaneously with the development of cartography in the Low Countries, a school of geographers was growing up in France, of which Nicolas Sanson, of Abbeville (1600-67), who was royal geographer from 1627, and his sons Nicolas, Adrien, and Guillaume Sanson, were the earlier and more prolific members. Sanson, in his atlases, gives England and Wales in five sectional maps, all very beautifully engraved by R. Cordier, probably after the sheets of the so-called Quartermaster's Map, engraved by Hollar in 1644. Three of Sanson's plates are dated 1654 and two 1658. The Sanson family were succeeded by other eminent workers, and in the middle of the eighteenth century France is described as "*facile princeps in cartographic achievements*". As, however, no English county maps appear to have been printed in any of the French atlases, I need not refer further to this school, which is more fully dealt with in my study of the Cartography of the Provinces of France (*post*, p. 128).

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, when the Dutch school of engravers and map-makers, so prolific in its day, seems to have entirely died out, the English engravers became more numerous, and, during the following century, they produced many complete series of county maps. Beginning with Seller and Oliver in 1676, and commencing the new century with Robert Morden, who, in his turn, was succeeded by Kitchin, Bowen, and others, we come at length to the more finished, accurate, and modern-looking maps of Warburton, Dury and Andrews, Ellis, and Cary, and in the latter half of this century to the numerous large-scale maps of individual counties by various surveyors. Bowen and Kitchin's

maps are notable for the large amount of letterpress description and historical matter inserted on the face of the maps and in the margins. These series of maps are also characterized by the insertion of roads, and their gradual development as one of the most important features of the design. Ogilby's maps, indeed (1675), are nothing more than pictorial itineraries, consisting of long strips showing the roads with notes and details of the geographical features of the adjacent country. The title of Ogilby's *Britannia* gives a good idea of his work;¹ it was dedicated to Charles II.

The maps of this period, though very much more numerous and varied than those which preceded them, do not present any features to which detailed notice can be conveniently directed here.

In the nineteenth century the Ordnance Survey gave an exact basis for all maps, and an era of uniformity naturally set in, the interest of originality of design and ornament disappearing almost entirely.

The surveying, so far as the work of triangulation is concerned, was commenced in 1784, and the first sheet of the one-inch map was published on the 1st of January, 1801. It may perhaps be noticed how very closely the style of John Cary's maps was followed by the Survey, a tribute to the remarkable excellence of his cartographic style and art.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the era of county maps (1579-1900) is roughly divisible into three periods, distinguishable both by the character of the maps and the scientific and artistic excellence of the work produced. The first period is one of considerable pictorial effect, with but little geographical detail or accuracy. The earlier map-makers found large

¹ *Britannia, Volume the First, or, an Illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales: By a Geographical and Historical Description of the Principal Roads thereof Actually Admeasured and Delineated in a Century of Whole-Sheet Copper-Sculps. Accommodated With the Ichinography of the Several Cities and Capital Towns; and compleated By an Accurate Account of the more Remarkable Passages of Antiquity, Together with a novel Discourse of the Present State.* By John Ogilby, Esq: His Majesty's Cosmographer, and Master of His Majesty's Revels in the Kingdom of Ireland. London, Printed by the Author at his House in White-Fryers. MDC.LXXV (folio).

scope for ornamentation in the poverty of their actual geographical knowledge, and habitually filled all blank spaces in their designs with ornaments of one kind or another. Thus the sea is usually decorated with ships, sometimes engaged in naval warfare, and with marine monsters and grotesque and allegorical figures; scrolls, coats of arms, and emblematic and historic figures are also largely utilized. Their maps contain, in general, indications of towns and villages, with the boundaries of the counties and hundreds, and show the course of the main streams of the rivers; roads are wanting, though the bridges on the principal rivers are usually indicated; the rest of the space is filled in with outlines of hills and figures of trees somewhat arbitrarily distributed.

The second period is marked by more success from a cartographic point of view, more detail, especially in respect to ways of communication, and less adventitious ornament, and ultimately large-scale county maps showing the parish boundaries and other minor features were attempted. Roads, with particulars of their state of repair and the distances marked upon them, became an important feature, and much information was printed in the form of notes on the face of the map itself. The following are specimens of these notes:

"Hartford was a place of note before the Roman Invasion, and long after was a principal City and Royal Seat of the East Saxons. Alfred first built a Castle here, to protect it from the devouring Danes. Here are two Churches, St Andrew and All Saints. The People deal largely in Wheat, Malt and Wool. 'T is said that this Town and Ware send above 5000 Quarters of Malt to London Weekly by Water."

"St Albans the Antient Verulam, 21 miles from London, derives its Name from Alban, the first British Martyr; who suffer'd in y^e persecution under Dioclesion. There are 3 Churches here, besides that call'd St Albans. The Market is one of y^e best for Wheat in England."

"Ware 20 miles from London; Great quantities of Malt and Corn are sent to London from this Town Weekly in Barges by the River Lee. At Amwell within a mile of this Town, is the Source of the New River, which supplies London and great part of Westminster with Water."

"Bishop Stortford is a well built Town, in the form of a Cross, with four Streets answering to the four Cardinal Points of the Compass. It is Situate in a dry Soil, and in a pleasant healthy Air. Here are many good Inns; the Church has a handsome Tower with a Ring of 8 bells, but the chief Ornament of the Place is its Grammar School. On ye East side of the River is St Osyth's Well, whose Water was held in great esteem for sore Eyes."

(All from the map of Hartfordshire by Emanuel Bowen, in the 'Atlas Anglicanus, Or a Complete Sett of Maps of the Counties of South Britain: . . . By the late Emanuel Bowen, Geographer to His Majesty George II^d, and Thomas Bowen.' London, folio, n.d., but published about 1770.)

"Hitchin is reputed the second Town in the County for number of Houses, Streets and Inhabitants, it was formerly a place of great note for the Woolen Manufacture, but now that Trade is quite lost, however, their Market for Grain, especially malt is still much frequented."

(From 'A New Improved Map of Hartfordshire,' by Thomas Kitchin, from Kitchin's large atlas, London, large folio, n.d., but published about 1763.)

In the third period the Ordnance Survey becomes the basis of all maps, whether published by public authority or private effort, and the maps have thus a certain stereotyped excellence and uniformity of matter and detail which cannot be mistaken.

But this classification, although sound, is somewhat vague in its limits in point of time, and I prefer one more scientific in its foundation, but which substantially, though more accurately, defines much the same periods.

The early map-makers adopted as a basis of measurement the initial meridian passing through either the Azores or the Canary Islands, which had come down to them from Ptolemy, but there was a good deal of doubt about the matter, and consequent variation in the meridian of longitude selected by different geographers. Blaeu, in the preface to the first part of his *Novus Atlas* (1638, French edition), says: "*Ptolomée a mis le premier Meridien aux Isles Fortunées, qu'on nomme aujourd'huy Canaries : et depuis les mariniers Espagnols l'ont mis aux Isles des Assores, et mesmes*

quelques-uns au milieu de l'Espagne." Camden also, in his address to the reader, which is the preface to his edition (Latin) of 1607, as translated by Philemon Holland (1610), deals with the then current difficulty thus:

"Mathematicians wil accuse me as though I had wholy missed the mark in the Cosmographical dimentions of longitude, and latitude. Yet heare me I pray you. I have carefully conferred the Locall tables new and old, Manuscript, and printed, of Oxford and Cambridge, and King Henry the Fifth. In the latitude they doe not vary much from Ptolomy, but agree wel together, neither do I thereupon imagine with Stadius, that the globe of the earth is removed from his centre, therefore I have relied upon them. But in the Longitude there is no accord, no consent at all. What should I then doe? When as therefore the moderne navigators have observed that there is no variation of the Compasse at the Isles of Asores,¹ I have thence begun with them, the account of Longitude as from the first Meridian, which yet I have not precisely measured."

Martin Cortes, in his book on 'The Arte of Navigation', published at Seville in 1556,² lays down the rule that for a first meridian of longitude we should draw a vertical line "through the Azores, or nearer Spain, where the chart is less occupied". In the black-letter pamphlet of 1594 entitled 'The Seamens Secrets', the author, the celebrated navigator John Davis, states that the first meridian passed through St. Michael, because there was no variation at that place,¹ the meridian passing through the magnetic pole as well as the pole of the earth. St. Michael is the largest island in the group of the Azores; from its western extremity London should be

¹ The identity of the magnetic meridian with any particular meridian at a given time was, of course, an entirely unsound basis for fixing the first meridian of longitude, as the variation of the compass at any point on the earth's surface is never constant. In 1581 the variation at London was $11^{\circ} 15'$ E.; in 1657 there was no variation there, and it moved westerly until 1815, when it was $24^{\circ} 27'$ W., and is now returning eastwards. The variation of the magnetic from the true north, as stated on the margin of an Ordnance Survey Sheet of 1899 for the year 1890, was $16^{\circ} 35' 30''$ W., with an annual decrease of 6'. (See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. x (1879), article 'Geography', at p. 187.)

² English translation, London, 1561.

$25^{\circ} 54'$ E., the island extending E. and W. between 25° and 26° W. of Greenwich.¹

In Moll's 'Atlas Manuale' (1709), in the introduction, is a dissertation on the "Correction of Longitude By Modern Observation", and a table showing the true longitude from London, by observation, and the differences between the longitudes of a number of principal cities, etc., in the world as taken from London, Teneriffe and Ferro respectively, and the longitudes as "Erroniously Plac'd in the Common Maps". This matter had also been discussed in the preface to the 'Index Villaris' of John Adams, London, 1680, fol.

Ferro (Isle de Fer), the most westerly of the Canaries, was adopted by a decree of Louis XIII (in 1636) as the initial meridian from which French navigators should calculate the longitude, and this meridian (making Paris 20° E.) appears on French maps up to the close of the eighteenth century.

This vague western meridian was continued in use, so far as British maps were concerned at all events, until towards the end of the seventeenth century. In Blome's *Britannia* (1673) the county maps have no indications of the meridian, but the map of the British Isles which is engraved by Francis Lamb, and is dated 1669, places London at $20^{\circ} 30'$ East longitude, which is probably based on an initial meridian passing through one of the most westerly of the Canaries rather than through the Azores, though an accurate measurement would lie between those two groups of islands.

In Seller's map of Herts (1676) the meridian of London first appears. It was from that date uniformly used until about the end of the next century, and when fixed more exactly the meridian passes through St. Paul's Cathedral.

Although the Greenwich Observatory was founded as early as 1675, it does not appear as the point of the initial meridian of longitude until the end of the eighteenth century, the general adoption of Greenwich in lieu of London being, no doubt, contemporaneous with the triangulation for the Ordnance Survey maps, commenced 1784. Cary's set of

¹ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. iii, p. 170, article 'Azores', and vol. xvii, pp. 251, 252, and 254, article 'Navigation'.

county maps dated 1787 (with their reprints of later dates) have the meridian of St. Paul's, London, but in his 'New Map of England and Wales, with part of Scotland', published in sheets, and dated June 11th, 1794, he adopts the meridian of Greenwich, and this appears to be the earliest map upon which this meridian was used.

Thus I arrive at three convenient periods for the classification and study of our county maps, and I have divided my Catalogue of the maps of Hertfordshire accordingly, as follows:

PART I: 1579-1673 (*Saxton to Blome*).

The early and archaic maps: Period of the Dutch School, and of the meridian of the Azores or Canaries.

PART II: 1673-1794 (*Seller to Cary*).

The modern and detailed maps, with roads: Period of the English School, and of the meridian of London.

PART III: 1794-1900.

Period of the Ordnance Survey, and of the meridian of Greenwich.

In that Catalogue I have arrived at a very complete description of the earlier and necessarily little-known maps, and have appended, where it seemed desirable, notes on the works in which they were published. Of the later maps, and especially of those published in the nineteenth century, much less detail has been necessary. They are most of them easily accessible, and present few features of particular interest.

The maps are catalogued under the names of the authors of the works which they illustrate, as being a practice more consonant with that of the public and other large libraries, than the other possible plan of following the names of the engravers or publishers of the maps themselves. But individual maps, which did not appear in such works, are either indexed by the name of the publisher or engraver, or (in a few cases only) by the title upon the map or atlas where no publisher's or engraver's name appears. They are arranged as closely as possible in the order of date of publication, each separate

edition occurring in its chronological sequence. The name of the engraver, and the original date of the engraving when it differs from the date of the publication, are given. When a map is (as is frequently the case, especially amongst the earlier maps) a reprint, either from an untouched original plate, or else from one but slightly altered or amended, an asterisk (*) is prefixed to the number, and only the size and scale, engraver's name, and a reference to the original date are given.

The following Catalogues of county maps have been compiled, and a Catalogue of those of Somersetshire is in preparation and will shortly be published on the same plan as those of Wilts and Gloucestershire and by the same author :

Hertfordshire Maps : A Descriptive Catalogue of the Maps of the County, 1579-1900. By Sir Herbert George Fordham. (Transactions of the Hertfordshire Natural History Society, 1903 to 1908.) The parts collected into a volume with the addition of a Preface, Notes on the Illustrations, Bibliography, and Indexes. (50 copies printed.)

Hertford, 1907, 8vo.

Early Maps of Lancashire and their makers. By William Harrison. (Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, 1908.)

Manchester, 1908, 8vo.

Cambridgeshire Maps : A Descriptive Catalogue of the Maps of the County and of the Great Level of the Fens, 1579-1900. By Sir Herbert George Fordham. (Communications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1905 to 1908.) The parts collected into a volume. (100 copies printed.)

Cambridge, 1908, 8vo.

Early Maps of Cheshire. By William Harrison. (Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, 1909.)

Manchester, 1909, 8vo.

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Printed Maps of Wiltshire, from 1576 to the publication of the 25-inch Ordnance Survey, 1885. By Thomas Chubb. (Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, 1911.)

Devizes, 1911, 8vo.

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Printed Maps of Gloucestershire, 1577-1911. With Biographical Notes and Illustrations. By Thomas Chubb. (Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1913.)

Bristol, 1913, 8vo.

Hertfordshire Maps: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Maps of the County, 1579-1900. Supplement. By Sir Herbert George Fordham. (Transactions of the Hertfordshire Natural History Society, 1914.) With the addition of Supplementary Bibliography and Indexes. (70 copies printed.) *Hertford*, 1914, 8vo.

And in course of publication.

A Descriptive List of the Printed Maps of Somersetshire, 1572 to 1912. By Thomas Chubb. *Taunton*, [1914], 8vo.

The Index List which follows may be used as a basis for other lists of county maps, a very large proportion of these maps having been published as complete series, either in the form of atlases or in illustration of topographical works. This basis having been established and worked out in detail in the elaborate Hertfordshire Catalogue, all future study of this subject in England and Wales is much simplified by the standard thus set up.

HERTFORDSHIRE MAPS (1579-1900)

INDEX LIST

DATE.	NAME.	DIMENSIONS.	DATES OF REPRINTS.
1579	Saxton, Christopher	$20 \times 15\frac{3}{4}$	1645, 1652 (?), 1689 (c.)
1598	Norden, John	$9\frac{9}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{16}$	[1637], 1723
1607	Camden, William	$1\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$	1610, 1637
1610	Speed, John	20×15	1611, 1614, 1616, 1627, 1646, 1650, 1657 (?), 1662, 1666 (?), 1676, 1713, 1736 (?), 1743, 1770 (c.)
1612	Drayton, Michael	$13 \times 9\frac{3}{4}$	1613, 1622, 1890
1617	Camden, William	$4\frac{13}{16} \times 3\frac{5}{16}$	1620 (?), 1627, 1662, 1666, 1676
1626	Camden, William	$4\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{5}{8}$	
1635	Simons, Mathew	about $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	1636
1643	Jenner, Thomas	about 3×3	1657, 1662, 1668, 1677
1646	Janssonius, Joannes	22×17	1646, 1647, 1649, 1652, 1652 (?), 1658, 1666, 1683, 1710 (c.), 1724
1648	Blaeu, Johannes	$20 \times 15\frac{1}{4}$	1649, 1662, 1662, 1663, 1664 (?), 1667, 1672 (c.)
1665 (?)	Stent, Peter	$19\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{3}{4}$	
1670 (c.)	Blome, Richard	$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$	1671 (?), 1681, 1685, 1715 (c.), 1716 (c.)
1670 (c.)	Morden, Robert	$2\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	1780 (?)
1673	Blome, Richard	13×10	
1676 (c.)	Seller, John	$20 \times 16\frac{3}{8}$	
1676	Seller, John	$20\frac{1}{2} \times 16\frac{3}{4}$	1733
1695	Oliver, John	$31 \times 23\frac{1}{2}$	
1695	Camden, William	$17\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$	1700 (c.), 1722, 1753, 1772
1695 (?)	Seller, John	$5\frac{11}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$	1701, 1703, 1787
1700	Chauncy, Sir Henry	$18\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{4}$	
1701	Morden, Robert	$8\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{5}{8}$	1704, 1708, 1720, 1738
1720	Owen, John	$4\frac{11}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$	1724, 1731, 1734, 1736, 1749, 1751, 1753, 1759, 1764
1724	Moll, Herman	$10\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$	1724, 1728, 1739, 1747, 1753
1726	Overton, Philip, and Thos. Bowles	$37 \times 23\frac{1}{2}$	
1728	Salmon, Nathaniel	17×15	
1742	Badeslade, Thos., and Wm. Hy. Toms	$5\frac{11}{16} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$	1742, 1745
1744	Dodsley, Robert	$7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$	
1745 (c.)	Warburton, John	$72\frac{3}{8} \times 42\frac{1}{2}$	
1746	Simpson, Samuel	$7\frac{1}{2} \times 6$	
1746	English Traveller	$7\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{16}$	1753, 1762, 1764 (?), 1769

DATE.	NAME.	DIMENSIONS.	DATES OF REPRINTS.
1748	London Magazine	9 x 7	1786 (?)
1748	Geographia Magnæ Britanniæ	6 $\frac{9}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{9}{16}$	
1749 (?)	Warburton, John	30 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 24	
1749	Kitchin, Thos., and Thos. Jefferys	5 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$	1751, 1787
1749	Kitchin, Thomas	25 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 20 $\frac{3}{4}$	1760 (c.), 1763 (c.), 1767, 1777 (c.), 1785 (c.), 1787
1751	Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure	8 x 7	
1751	Bickham, Geo., sen.	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 9	1751 (c.), 1796
1760 (c.)	Gibson, John	4 $\frac{7}{16}$ x 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1779
1763	Martin, Benjamin	8 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1764	England Illustrated	9 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 7 $\frac{5}{8}$	1764 (c.)
1765	Kitchin, Thos., and Eman. Bowen	20 x 16 $\frac{1}{4}$	1778 (c.)
1766	Ellis, John	9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 7 $\frac{5}{8}$	1768, 1773, 1777
1766 (c.)	Dury, Andrew, and John Andrews	28 $\frac{9}{8}$ x 20 $\frac{7}{8}$	1777, 1782
1766 (c.)	Dury, Andrew, and John Andrews	6' 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 5' 1	1777, 1782
1767 (c.)	Bowen, Eman., and Thos. Bowen	12 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{7}{8}$	1777, 1785
1767 (c.)	Bowen, Emanuel	19 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 16 $\frac{1}{8}$	
1769	Kitchin, Thomas	7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{9}{16}$	
1784	Walpoole, Geo. Augustus	6 $\frac{1}{3}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	1794 (c.)
1785 (c.)	Bowles, Carington	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6	
1787	Cary, John	10 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{5}{16}$	1793, 1809, 1812, 1818 (c.), 1821 (c.), 1823 (c.), 1827 (c.), 1831 (c.), 1863, 1868 (?), 1872 (?), 1875
1788	Political Magazine	12 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1795 (c.)
1789	Camden, William	19 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 15 $\frac{3}{4}$	1805, 1806
1790	Aikin, John	7 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1795, 1795 (c.), 1800, 1803, 1809
1790	Cary, John	3 $\frac{11}{16}$ x 4 $\frac{7}{8}$	1792, 1806, 1810, 1812, 1814, 1817 (?), 1819, 1821, 1822, 1824, 1828, 1862 (?), 1875 (c.)
1791	Harrison, John	18 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 13	1792
1792	Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure	8 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{8}$	1807
1795	Newcome, Peter	19 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 16	
1798 (c.)	Stockdale, John	19 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 15 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1801	Cary, John	21 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 18 $\frac{7}{8}$	1809, 1811, 1818, 1825, 1828, 1831, 1832 (c.?), 1855 (?), 1875 (c.), 1883, 1885 (c.)
1801	Smith, Charles	20 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 17 $\frac{7}{8}$	1804, 1808 (c.), 1818 (c.), 1821, 1827 (c.), 1834, 1843 (c.), 1846 (c.), 1864 (?)
1803	Luffman, John	2 $\frac{7}{16}$ diam.	1806

DATE.	NAME.	DIMENSIONS.	DATES OF REPRINTS.
1803 (c.)	Atlas of England	3 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 4 $\frac{13}{16}$	1804
1804	Young, Arthur	1 $\frac{2}{5}$ x 10 $\frac{5}{16}$	
1806	Wilkes, John	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	1811
1806 (c.)	Cooke, George Alexander	4 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	1822 (c.), 1824, 1830 (c.)
1808	Britton, John, and Edward Wedlake Brayley	9 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{7}{8}$	1810, 1816, 1816 (c.), 1820 (c.), 1835, 1843 (c.), 1858 (?)
1808	Capper, Benjamin Pitts	7 x 4 $\frac{1}{8}$	1813, 1825, 1826, 1829
1809	Hackman, Thomas	1 $\frac{6}{4}$ x 1 $\frac{3}{8}$	
1810 (c.)	Miller, Robert	4 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 2 $\frac{3}{8}$	1820 (c.), 1825 (?), 1845 (?)
1810 (?)	Wallis, James	5 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{16}$	1819, 1836
1813 (c.)	Wallis, James	10 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 7	1813 (c.), 1819
1815	Clutterbuck, Robert	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{8}$	
1815	Clutterbuck, Robert	10 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$	
1816	Dix, Thomas	17 $\frac{7}{16}$ x 14	1822, 1840 (?), 1852 (c.)
1818	Langley, Edward	10 x 6 $\frac{7}{8}$	1820
1819 [1820]	Dugdale, James	9 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$	1819 [1820]
1820	Leigh, Samuel	2 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	1825, 1826, 1831, 1833, 1835, 1837, 1839, 1840, 1842
1821	Pinnock, William	6 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$	1823, 1825
1822	Bryant, A.	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1822	Smith, Charles	9 x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1825 (c.)	Pigot, James, and Co.	14 x 8 $\frac{15}{16}$	1826 (c.), 1830 (c.), 1831, 1832 (c.), 1834 (c.), 1838, 1839 (c.), 1840 (c.), 1844 (?), 1854
1825 (?)	Pocket Tourist and English Atlas	2 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 3 $\frac{3}{8}$	
1826	Chauncy, Sir Henry	18 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 14 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1827	Clutterbuck, Robert	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 16 $\frac{7}{8}$	
1829 (c.)	Teesdale, Henry, and Co.	16 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 13 $\frac{15}{16}$	1830 (c.), 1831 (c.), 1833, 1834, 1835 (c.), 1840 (c.)
1830	Teesdale, Henry, and Co.	7 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$	
1831	Murray, T. L.	18 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 14 $\frac{1}{8}$	1832
1831	Lewis, Samuel	9 x 6 $\frac{7}{8}$	1833, 1835, 1840, 1842, 1842, 1845, 1849
1832	Boundary Commissioners	1 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1832, 1832
1832	Gorton, John	9 $\frac{11}{16}$ x 7 $\frac{9}{16}$	1833, 1833, 1834, 1836, 1842, 1843, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1850 (c.), 1868 (c.)
1832	Tymms, Samuel	5 x 3	
1832	Cobbett, William	3 $\frac{15}{16}$ x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	1854
1833	Bell, James	9 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{7}{16}$	1836, 1840, 1843, 1846, 1884
1834	Greenwood, C. and J.	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	
1834	Rodwell, Mary Martha	3 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{8}$	
1835	Walker, John and Charles	15 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	1837, 1841, 1846, 1848 (?), 1861, 1862, 1870, 1872 (c.), 1881 (c.), 1885 (c.), 1892 (c.)
1835	Lewis, Samuel	9 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{3}{8}$	1840

LIST OF HERTFORDSHIRE MAPS

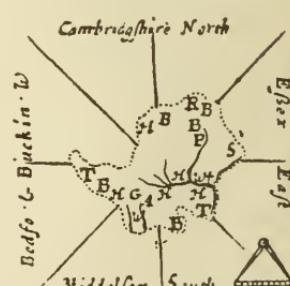
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DATE.	NAME.	DIMENSIONS.	DATES OF REPRINTS.
1836	Moule, Thomas	10 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$	1837, 1838
1840	Duncan, James	17 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$	
1840 (c.)	Dugdale, Thomas	9 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	1850 (c.), 1860 (c.)
1840 (c.)	Pocket Topography and Gazetteer of England	6 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1845	Kelly, W., and Co.	10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{5}{8}$	1852, 1855, 1859, 1860, 1862, 1867, 1871, 1874
1845 (?)	Fisher, Son and Co.	13 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{5}$	
1847	Johnson, Thomas	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6 $\frac{5}{8}$	
1848	Reynolds, James	6 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{5}{8}$	1860, 1864 (?), 1864 (?), 1889
1848 (?)	Collins, Henry George	7 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{11}{16}$	1852
1849	Webb, Robert Holden, and William Higgins Coleman	8 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 6 $\frac{13}{16}$	
1852	Clarke, Benjamin	16 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1852 (c.)	Collins, Henry George	2 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{16}$	
1854	Craven and Co.	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1860	Weekly Dispatch	16 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 12	1863, 1864 (c.), 1876 (c.), 1884 (c.), 1885 (c.), 1889 (c.), 1891, 1895, 1897, 1899
1860 (?)	Hall, Sidney	15 $\frac{11}{16}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{16}$	
1868	Hamilton, Nicholas Esterhazy Stephen Armytage	12 x 9 $\frac{3}{8}$	1873 (?)
1868	Heywood, John	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$	
1870	Cussans, John Edwin	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1872	Herts Quarter Sessions	37 x 25	
1873	Faunthorpe, John Pincher	8 x 6	1873, 1876, 1885, 1895
1874 (c.)	County of Hertford Divisions	20 x 15	
1874 (?)	Speed, John	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 12 $\frac{7}{8}$	
1875	Philip, George, and Son	16 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{8}$	1877, 1885, 1885 (c.), 1885 (c.), 1897, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900
1875 (c.)	Collins, William, Sons and Co.	6 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 8	1877
1876	Pryor, Alfred Reginald	9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 7 $\frac{3}{8}$	
1877	'Official' Guide to Herts	17 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 14 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1878	Kelly and Co.	15 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1878 (?)	Bacon, George Washington	24 x 17	1885 (c.), 1896 (c.)
1880	Simson and Co.	22 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 20	1886
1880	Encyclopædia Britannica	9 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1881	Hopkinson, John	9 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{8}$	
1881	Hopkinson, John	about 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1881	Mason, Charlotte M.	3 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{9}{16}$	
1882	Kelly and Co.	38 x 25	1886, 1890, 1894, 1898
1883	Elsden, James Vincent	6 x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1887
1883	Elsden, James Vincent	6 x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1887
1884	Letts, Son and Co.	15 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{4}$	1887
1885	Stanford, Edward	6 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{5}{8}$	
1885	Boundary Commissioners	13 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{5}{8}$	1885
1886	Watkinson, J.	3 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$	1886
1887	Herts Quarter Sessions	14 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{3}{8}$	1888, 1894
1887	Pryor, Alfred Reginald	9 x 6 $\frac{5}{8}$	1890
1888	Ordnance Survey	about 14 x 13	
1888	Boundary Commissioners	about 20 x 14 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1889	Johnston, W. and A. K.	5 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{16}$	

DATE.	NAME.	DIMENSIONS.	DATES OF REPRINTS.
1889	Hopkinson, John	5 ⁷ / ₈ x 4 ⁵ / ₈	1893, 1896, 1896, 1897
1891	Foster, Albert John	7 ¹ / ₈ x 5 ¹ / ₈	1896
1891	Ordnance Survey	about 38 ¹ / ₂ x 26 ¹ / ₂	1891
1892	Evans, John	10 ¹ / ₆ x 9 ³ / ₈	
1892	Black, Adam and Charles	9 ⁹ / ₁₆ x 6 ³ / ₄	
1894	Brabner, J. H. F.	11 x 8 ¹ / ₂	
1894	Herts County Council	28 x 20 ¹ / ₂	
1895	Murray, John	10 ³ / ₈ x 13	
1899	Ordnance Survey	17 ¹ / ₂ x 21	
1900	Ordnance Survey	about 29 x 25	

TABLE OF DISTANCES OF TOWNS IN HERTFORDSHIRE,
WITH SOME ADJOINING PLACES

Hartford shire. With some closin Towns.		Hertford	Ware	Wadebridge	Buntingford	Barkway	Royton.	Baldock.	Hitchin.	Hemsted.	St Albans.	Watford	Bernet	Barkhamsted	Tring.	Steuenderge.	Welwynne.	Theobaldes.	Luton. Bedf.	Dunstable Bed.	K. Laryley	Market	Redbourne	Reckmaworth			
Ivingoe. Buckl.	19	20	22	28	15	22	20	2	42	3	26	12	7	11	13	20	4	3	15	19	24	7	9	6	7	13	
Rickmaworth. St.	17	18	18	27	11	22	3	3	27	20	30	19	8	9	3	12	9	6	18	14	17	15	15	5	12	10	
Redbōyne. W.	12	14	15	21	8	15	16	20	20	12	9	3	4	8	13	5	8	10	7	17	6	6	6	3			
Market. W.	13	15	16	22	10	16	16	19	18	11	8	5	6	11	5	5	7	2	8	18	3	3	7				
K. Langley. S. W.	14	16	16	24	9	19	20	3	29	17	14	3	5	4	12	5	8	14	11	17	10	10					
Dunstable. Bedf. N.	15	17	19	24	3	17	17	20	19	11	7	7	10	14	20	7	7	10	12	3							
Luton. Bedf. N. W.	13	14	16	21	11	14	14	7	16	8	5	8	9	14	17	9	10	8	8	20							
Theobaldes. S. E.	8	9	5	13	9	13	16	19	22	19	19	18	13	19	9	20	24	15	12								
Welwynne. W.	5	7	9	14	5	8	9	13	14	8	8	7	6	12	11	12	15	4									
Steuenderge. NW.	8	8	11	13	8	7	6	9	10	4	5	9	10	15	9	14	7										
Tringe. S. W.	20	22	23	29	16	23	23	2	26	18	15	8	11	12	20	3											
Barkhamsted. S. W.	19	18	20	26	13	20	20	24	24	16	13	4	8	10	17												
Bernet. S.	9	10	8	17	7	15	17	22	23	28	18	16	14	10	9												
Watford. S. W.	13	15	15	24	9	19	20	25	26	19	17	7	6														
St Albans. S. W.	10	12	12	20	5	14	15	19	20	13	11	5															
Hemsted. S. W.	14	16	17	24	10	17	18	22	23	15	12																
Hitchin. N. W.	12	13	16	18	12	11	10	12	12	4																	
Baldock. N. W.	11	11	14	15	12	8	7	9	8																		
Royton. N.	16	13	16	12	13	9	6	3																			
Barkway. N.	14	11	14	9	16	6	4																				
Buntingford.	9	9	11	8	12	3																					
Fuckeredge. N.	7	5	8	7	10																						
Watcilde. S. W.	4	7	7	15																							
E. Stortford. N. E.	12	8	9																								
Hoddesdon. S. E.	5	3																									
Ware. N. E.	2																										



II

BRITISH AND IRISH ITINERARIES AND ROAD-BOOKS

“Or quelle qu'en soit la cause tous ceux qui se trouvent en voyage ont un grand soulagement quand ils rencontrent quelque bonne guilde, et leur semble booir un ange du ciel, lors qu'il se presente homme qui leur peut donner seure addresse de parbenir au lieu où ils pretendent.”¹

INTRODUCTION

THE study of Itineraries and Road-Books, though strictly speaking a bibliographical one, has a close connexion with geography in its local aspects, and the following slight sketch, in the main historical, and by no means exhaustive, has been prepared from both points of view, and especially to draw attention to a branch of literature of a geographical character which, up to now, appears to have escaped systematic notice.

In connexion with the more limited science of cartography also a small corner cannot be altogether denied to this study. Road-Books represent in modern times the records of those facts which in the inception of cartography formed the sole basis of mapping—that is to say, the measurements of actual distances travelled on tracks or roads, across country, or along coastlines. It is only necessary to appeal to what remains of route and coast-line maps of Roman and pre-Roman days and of the early Middle Ages in Europe for the illustration of this point.

Although it would be, perhaps, going too far to lay the general historical foundation for the study of modern Road-Books in the Crusades, it is, nevertheless, true that the first

¹ From the *Sommaire description de la France, Allemagne, Italie et Espagne*, Théodore de Mayerne Turquet, 1591.

trace in mediaeval times of the records in book-form of routes of travel, with the stages shown by days' journeys, or by actual measurements of distances traversed, are those which relate to the pilgrim tracks which had, as their ultimate objects, the holy places of the East, and celebrated shrines of Western Europe.

Thus we find in the British Museum several little books printed in French at Paris, and ascribed to the beginning of the sixteenth century, consisting of descriptions of travel and of places visited, with distances between towns stated in miles or leagues, forming systematic Itineraries. One of these, for instance, deals with the road from Paris to Venice by land, showing the stages, which is continued from Venice, by sea and land, to Jerusalem, with a return journey following, in part, a different route. Another, of much the same character, includes variations of the Itinerary to Lyons, Venice, and Rome. A third guide of the same epoch gives the way to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, in Spain. None of these books are dated, but in the first-mentioned the journey described took place in 1480.¹ These are illustrations from a small group of Itineraries of this character, some of which have been fully studied and commented upon, but which would probably repay complete examination, and the publication of an historical and bibliographical review.

In natural sequence to these French Itineraries appear, in 1552, a regular Road-Book of the post-roads of France, *La Guide des Chemins de France*, published by Charles Estienne, at Paris, which went through a number of reprints and editions extending from that year to as late as 1623, and, in 1591, the *Sommaire Description de la France* of Théodore de Mayerne Turquet, which was re-edited up to 1644.² These

¹ *Le voyage de la Saincte Cité de Hierusalem. Avec la description des lieux, portz, Villes, citez: et autres passagez. Faict l'an mil quatre cents quatre vingt. Estant le Siege du grant Turc a Rhodes, et regnant en France, Loys onzeieme de ce nom. Nouvellement imprimé a Paris.*

² Two descriptions of England appeared in Paris nearly contemporaneously with the first editions of Estienne's *Guide*. *Anglicae descriptionis compendium, Per Gulielmum Paradinum Cuyselfiensem. Parisiis, apud Vinantium Gaultherot, sub intersignio Sancti Martini, via ad divum Jacobum, 1545, and Description Des Royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Escosse. Composé par Maistre*

Guides, in addition to full particulars of the post-roads of France, contain extended routes into neighbouring countries, including the road from Dover to London, as well as the pilgrim ways to the more important shrines. Jean Bernard's *Guide des Chemins d'Angleterre* (Paris, 1579), noted more fully below and particularly described in No. VI of these studies, is, naturally, associated with these contemporaneous publications; as is also 'The Post of the World', printed in London in 1576 by Thomas East, for Richard Rowlands (who is said to have translated it from the German), of which the titles and particulars of contents are set out fully at pp. 121, 122, *post*.

It is not extraordinary that Road-Books should be found at a very early date in France, where the system of post-roads and a regular supply of post-horses and guides for travellers dates at least from the famous *Ordonnance* of Louis XI (June 19, 1464), and where, later, this system was very fully elaborated and controlled by a long series of royal decrees.

The intercourse between England and France seems to have become very general towards the end of the sixteenth and during the seventeenth centuries,¹ and English Itineraries, in their earliest form, are, probably, not altogether unconnected with the previous and similar publications which appeared in France. I may, therefore, be excused this preliminary digression from my subject.

In England itself the Itinerary of William of Worcester (1478) must be referred to as the earliest systematic mediæval work of this character. It is, however, very partial geographically, and cannot be directly associated with the modern English Road-Book, of which the origin is more exactly traceable to the famous Itinerary of John Leland, whose journeys through England and Wales took place in the period 1535-43.

Estienne Perlin. *A Paris, Chez François Tepeau, demeurant rue Sainct Victor, devant le Collège du Cardinal le moyne.* 1558, but neither contains anything in the nature of an Itinerary.

¹ See *Anglais et Français du XVII^e siècle*, by Charles Bastide, Paris, 1912, 8vo.

But Leland's work, though a storehouse of facts from which topographers drew much material for many years after his premature death in 1552, was not published in any form until 1710. It is really a Road-Book (although roads hardly existed at the time Leland travelled through the country), giving the character of the ground traversed, particulars of the bridges and fords, and the distances in miles between towns.

Before setting out in chronological order, from Leland's time to the practical disappearance of the Road-Book literature about the middle of the nineteenth century, when fast road traffic was completely superseded by railway communication, the various publications in the nature of systematic Itineraries which appeared in England in these three centuries, and those which, from a later point of departure, were published in Scotland and Ireland, some classification in periods seems desirable.

Other factors than those of time and art go, however, to establish such a classification, and, perhaps, its real foundation should be that of the measurements of distances.

It has been noticed, from the time of the first actual perambulation of the roads of England by John Ogilby in the reign of Charles II, that the English customary miles employed up to that date differed very materially from the statute mile of 1,760 yards upon which Ogilby's measurements were based. Prior to the publication in 1675 of Ogilby's *Britannia*, not only was there no graphic delineation of the roads in existence, beyond some slight indications on maps, but there was no exact measurement of distance on any of the highways, and the old British mile, with local variations, was the standard. Thus, the first period of road measurement is that in which the British mile was recognized in all the publications dealing with roads or distances in the country, and is associated with the absence of any systematic representation graphically of road surface or extent. In the century which followed the publication of the description 'Of our Innes and Thorowfaires', which is in part a Road-Book, and constitutes chapter xvi of the first volume of Holinshed's 'Chronicles', and which was

printed in 1577, until the appearance of Ogilby's *Britannia* in 1675, the only surveyor who attempted to deal methodically with distances in connexion with roads was John Norden, whose triangular distance-tables, published in 1625,¹ were frequently reprinted in the period mentioned, and have been used as a model for such tables from that day to this. Norden's tables purport to show the old customary miles from place to place. During this period also it is to Norden alone that we can attribute the insertion of roads on maps. They appear on his maps of Middlesex (1593) and Hertfordshire (1598), published in his lifetime, and on that of Essex, published in 1840.

In this period also wheeled traffic cannot have had much development, except quite towards the end. Saddle and pack-horses were chiefly employed, and a solidly constructed road was not thought in any way necessary.

The system of regular postal routes in England dates, however, from at least as early as the sixteenth century, the first English Post-Master of whom a distinct account can be given being Sir Brian Tuke, who was described (1533) as *Magister Nunciorum, Cursorum, sive Postarum*, and whose jurisdiction extended both to England itself and to other parts of the King's dominions beyond the seas. An Act of Edward VI, passed in the same century (1548), further regulated the duties of the Master of the Posts. The accession of James I, and the union of Scotland with England, led to improvements in the postal service, and royal orders of 1603 provided that the post-masters at the various stages should enjoy the privilege of letting horses to "those riding post (that is to say) with horn and guide", by commission or otherwise. To that end they were ordered to keep and have in readiness a sufficient number of post-horses, and the rates to be charged, the number of horses to be kept, and the distance

¹ 'England An Intended Guyde, For English Travailers. Shewing in generall, how far one Citie, and many Shire-Townes in England, are distant from other. Together, with the Shires in particular: and the Cheife Townes in every of them. With a generall Table, of the most of the principall Townes in Wales. Invented and Collected by John Norden. *Voluntas profacultate.*' London, 1625, 4to.

they were expected to travel per hour were set out. A proclamation of July 1, 1635, established eight main postal routes —viz. The Great North Road, and the Roads to Ireland by Holyhead, to Ireland by Bristol, to the Marches of Wales by Shrewsbury, to Plymouth, to Dover, to Harwich, and to Yarmouth. In February 1638 an agreement for carrying the mails into France by way of Calais, Boulogne, Abbeville, and Amiens was ratified by proclamation. In the time of Charles II, by Act of Parliament (12 Car. 2, c. 35), one General Post Office in London was erected, the status of the Master of the Post Office was further regulated, and the charges to be paid for horses and guides by persons riding post were set out—3*d.* per mile for the horse, and 4*d.* per mile for the guide. The Post Office in Scotland remained a distinct institution until 1710, when, by a statute of the 9th of Queen Anne, the whole postal system was consolidated into one establishment, with chief letter-offices at Edinburgh, Dublin, and New York. This last-mentioned statute continued to be the charter of the Post Office until well into the nineteenth century. Hackney coaches were first established in London in 1625.

The first period with which I propose to deal in this paper thus extends from 1577 to 1675, in which roads were little more than vague tracks across the country, the old British mile¹ was used as the unit of distance, and the literature

¹ Ogilby in the *Britannia* (and the comparison is continued in 'The Traveller's Guide: or, a most Exact Description of the Roads of England. Being Mr. Ogilby's Actual Survey, And Mensuration by the Wheel, of the Great Roads from London To all the Considerable Cities and Towns in England and Wales . . .' London, 1699, 8vo) gives tables showing, in detail, the distances on all the roads between towns (1) by vulgar computation and (2) as measured. A few roads may be cited—

			Vulgar computation.	Measured.
London to Aberystwith			145	199 $\frac{1}{4}$
London to Arundel			46	55 $\frac{1}{2}$
London to Barwick			260	339 $\frac{1}{2}$
London to Bristol			94	115 $\frac{5}{8}$
London to St. David's			207	269 $\frac{5}{8}$
London to Dover			55	71 $\frac{1}{2}$

It appears probable that the old customary British mile can be carried back to pre-Roman times, and that it is, in fact, the ancient Gallic league of

relating to roads and travel consisted in very summary statements of distances between towns, distance-tables, and some few lists of places arranged alphabetically or by counties.

John Ogilby's survey and perambulation of the roads marks a distinct advance in all these particulars.

The second period dates from Ogilby's *Britannia*, which gave form to road representation, inasmuch as Ogilby drew each road which he measured on copperplate, and published thus a complete and detailed delineation in road-maps of the whole of the principal roads. This part of his work consists of 100 folio plates, on which the roads are drawn on narrow strips or scrolls.¹ Practically a hundred years also may be assigned to this second period, extending to nearly the end of the eighteenth century, when the official measurements of the roads of England and Wales by John Cary took the place of those of Ogilby. The results of Cary's work were published in the earliest edition of his 'New Itinerary', which appeared in 1798. His measurements extended, in the first instance, to 9,000 miles of roads, but another 1,000 miles were subsequently measured, and appear in later editions of the 'Itinerary'. In this period wheel-traffic slowly developed in the country, and the roads themselves became gradually settled in direction and width, although it does not appear that the pack-horse system of conveyance of goods was entirely displaced by the use of carts and wagons until quite late in the eighteenth century. The insertion of roads on maps, especially on county maps, was customary from its commencement, the maps of

1,500 natural paces. The late Mr. Frederic Seebohm shortly before his death was at work upon an elaborate study of this subject, in connexion with the history of land-measurements and the cultivation of land in the early communities in England and on the Continent of Europe, and the results, as far as he carried them, have now been published. See also a paper on 'Some old West Riding Milestones', by Mr. John J. Brigg, recently reprinted from the 'Yorkshire Archæological Journal', vol. xxii.

¹ 'Britannia, Volume the First: or, an Illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales: By a Geographical and Historical Description of the Principal Roads thereof. Actually Admeasured and Delineated in a Century of Whole-Sheet Copper Sculps. . . . By John Ogilby Esq; His Majesty's Cosmographer, and Master of His Majesty's Revels in the Kingdom of Ireland. Printed by the Author at his House in White-Fryers, M. DC. LXXV', London, fol.

Seller and others, on a fairly large scale for the period, of a number of the English counties, showing the roads from as early as 1676, and roads being uniformly engraved by Robert Morden on his various sets of county maps of 1695 and later dates. From the beginning of the eighteenth century they had become a uniform feature of English maps. During the whole period, too, Road-Books, founded upon the work of Ogilby, continued to appear under a variety of titles—*Britannia Depicta*, which ran through a long series of editions from 1720 to 1764, being perhaps the best known of these publications, amongst which may also be mentioned 'Ogilby and Morgan's Pocket Book of the Roads', printed in 1676 as an epitome of Ogilby's *Britannia*, of which the earliest known impression seems to be the fourth, dated 1689, and the last the twenty-fourth edition, which appeared in 1794; 'Owen's New Book of Roads', of which the second edition is 1779, and the latest, apparently, 1840; and Paterson's 'New and Accurate Description of all the Direct and Principal Cross Roads in Great Britain', which ran through eighteen editions from 1771 to 1826. Road-Books were also published in this period, mostly late in the eighteenth century, for both Scotch and Irish roads. From about 1780¹ the development of traffic encouraged the application of the cartographic art to road delineation, and Cary and others published some very charming examples.

A third and modern period is marked by the publication, as already mentioned, of John Cary's 'New Itinerary', based upon his new and exact measurements, and is characterized not only by the construction of properly made and metalled roads throughout the country on all the principal routes of through communication, and the mail coach and post chaise fast traffic which thereupon became possible, but also by the publication of a number of beautifully engraved road-books, and many very elaborately arranged Itineraries, of which the

¹ Coaches were running regularly from London into the country soon after the middle of the eighteenth century. It was in 1784 (August) that the first experimental mail-coaches were put on the roads by John Palmer, and they were immediately successful.

more important are the works of John Cary, and his rivals Daniel Paterson and Charles Smith. This class of topographical work had lost its immediate use before the middle of the nineteenth century, and practically disappears between 1840 and 1850. With the modern revival of fast road traffic a new literature has grown up, but with this I do not propose to deal.

Before leaving the three periods I have sketched out above, I may, perhaps, correlate them with those into which the general development of cartography in Great Britain may be properly thrown.¹ It will be found that my first Road-Book period, 1577-1675, corresponds almost exactly with the early period of map-production in this country (1579-1673, Christopher Saxton to Richard Blome), which was the period of the great Dutch school of cartography—the maps being drawn on the meridian of the Azores or the Canaries; that my second epoch, 1675-1798, is substantially that of a second cartographic epoch (1673-1794, John Seller to John Cary), the period of modern and detailed maps, showing the roads, in which there was a well-marked English school of cartographers, and the meridian of London was uniformly used; and that my third period is associated with the commencement of an entirely modern system of map production based on the Ordnance Survey and the meridian of Greenwich (from 1794 onwards).

I. ITINERARIES AND ROAD-BOOKS, 1577-1675

England

‘The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-43’ is the title given to the edition of Leland’s principal topographical work recently re-edited by the late Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith. His topographical collections consisted of five volumes of *Collectanea* and eight of the ‘Itinerary’, all in manuscript. In 1632 all these, except one of the ‘Itinerary’,

¹ See ‘Hertfordshire Maps: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Maps of the County, 1579-1900’. Hertford, 1907, 8vo Introduction, at pp. 6-9, and *ante*, pp. 10-15.

were presented to the Bodleian Library. The eighth volume of the latter manuscript was subsequently recovered. It was not, however, until 1710-12 that the chief part of these papers, the 'Itinerary', was published, by Thomas Hearne, at Oxford, in nine volumes. Of this a second edition appeared in 1744-5, and a third in 1768-9. Hearne's edition of the *Collectanea* appeared, also at Oxford, in six volumes, in 1715, with a second edition in 1774.

Miss Toulmin Smith's edition, issued in five volumes, 1907-10, London, 4to, is a magnificent example of industry and scholarship, and leaves nothing further to be done towards placing the life and work of John Leland fully before the world. It shows Leland as a most painstaking chronicler, and a very observant traveller. The 'Itinerary' consists of short descriptive sentences, dealing with the produce of the country, the character and aspect of the soil and landscape, with details of the direction to be taken, the bridges and fords and other particulars of each route, and the distances in miles. It is thus a Road-Book in its character. This is shown very clearly by Mr. William Harrison, in his paper recently published on Leland's 'Itinerary',¹ in which he works out Leland's journey through Cheshire and Lancashire, identifies the places mentioned in the 'Itinerary' in those counties, and illustrates the whole by a series of maps. A full appreciation of Leland's work can only be obtained by a careful study of the whole text. Leland is believed to have been born about 1505 or 1506; he died April 18, 1552.

It was not until much later in the century that the 'Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland', compiled by Raphael Holinshed, William Harrison, and others, were printed, in three volumes, folio, London, 1577. A second edition appeared in 1587, folio, and the whole was republished in six volumes, 4to, London, 1807-8. It is in Book III, chapter xvi, of the first section of this work, entitled 'An Historical Description of the Iland of Britaine', that the first

¹ 'Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society', vol. xxviii, Manchester, 1911 8vo.

Road-Book, properly so called, occurs, under the heading "Of our Innes and Thorowfaires". This chapter contains, firstly, an account of the inns and hostelries of the period in England, with their customs, and many curious observations and warnings to travellers, and, secondly, a table of roads, with the distances in miles set out for each stage, which is described as "a table of the best thorowfaires and townes of greatest travell of England". These roads are headed as follows: (1) "The waie from Walsingham¹ to London", in nine stages, 94 miles; (2) "The waie from Barwicke to Yorke, and so to London", in twenty-two stages, 260 miles; (3) "The waie from Carnarvan to Chester, and so to London", in seventeen stages, 197 miles; (4) "The waie from Cockermouth to Lancaster, and so to London", in nineteen stages, 231 miles; (5) "The waie from Yarmouth to Colchester, and so to London", in ten stages, 91 miles; (6) "The waie from Dover to London", in six stages, 55 miles; (7) "The waie from Saint Burien in Cornewall to London", in nineteen stages, 246 miles; (8) "The waie from Bristowe to London", in nine stages, 97 miles; (9) "The waie from Saint David's to London", in seventeen stages, 197 miles; (10) "Of thorowfares from Dover to Cambridge" (crossing the Thames from Gravesend to Horn-don), in eleven stages, 83 miles; (11) "From Canterbury to Oxford" (by way of London), in twelve stages, 90 miles; (12) "From London to Cambridge", (a) (by Puckeridge and Bark-way) in eight stages, 44 miles, and (b) (by Hadham and Saffron Walden) (said to be the "better waie"), in six stages, 46 miles.

Following the twelve English roads is a list "Of certeine waies in Scotland, out of Reginald Wolfes his annotations", to which reference is made below. No roads in Ireland are mentioned in any part of Holinshed's 'Chronicles'.

Dated in the previous year (1576) 'The Post of the World', also entitled 'The Post for divers partes of the world', contains references to the roads from Dover to London; Oxford to London; Bristol to London; York to London; Berwick

¹ This was a pilgrim way; the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham having been famous in the Middle Ages.

to York, and St. David's to London, as well as the fairs of England and Wales ; but, as its title shows, this little book, by Richard Rowlands, and printed in London by Thomas East, is principally made up of particulars of the post-roads then existing on the continent of Europe. It is more fully described at pp. 121, 122, *post*.

Two years after the publication of the table of thoroughfares by Holinshed there appeared at Paris, from the press of Gervais Mallot, a small book written by Jean Bernard, of which the first part is entitled *Discours des plus memorables faicts des Roys et grāds Seigneurs d'Angleterre depuis cinq cens ans*, and the second *La Guide des Chemins d'Angleterre*. The first edition of this work is dated 1579, a second appeared in 1587. It consists of the historical section of 144 pages, and the *Guide*, or Road-Book, of 28 pages of text, including a separate title-page, and stands, as a good deal cut down in ordinary copies, about 145 mm. high. The *Guide* is a description with distances in miles of nine routes, taken, it is clear, from Holinshed's tables. These roads are (1) Dover to London ; (2) London to Berwick ; (3) London to Walsingham ; (4) Carnarvon to Chester and London ; (5) Cockermouth to Lancaster and London ; (6) Yarmouth to Colchester and London ; (7) Saint Burian to London ; (8) Bristol to London ; (9) St. David's to London. They are very closely copied, the stages and distances corresponding, with some few exceptions, which may be due to errors in transcribing or printing. A more complete description of this interesting little book will be found in a paper reprinted as No. VI of this Series.

It remains, as far as the sixteenth-century Road-Books of England are concerned, to note 'The Particular Description of England with the Portratures of Certaine of the Cheiffest Citties and Townes, 1588', by William Smith, Rouge Dragon, which continued in manuscript until 1879, when it was edited and published from the original by Messrs. Wheatley and Ashbee, London, 4to. The early history of this manuscript is not known. It was "discovered" in 1876, but it was known to Richard Gough, and is mentioned by him in his 'British

Topography' (1780), in vol. i, at p. 37. It is said by the editors that, though the manuscript is dated 1588, it contains evidence that it was not completed until the reign of James I. This work concludes with a list of highways similar to that of Holinshed. It is headed: "The High Wais, from any notable towne in England to the Cittie of London, and Lyke-wyse from one notable towne to another", and ten of the roads out of the twelve are copied, with slight variations here and there in both the stages and distances, from those of Holinshed, those from Dover to Cambridge and Canterbury to Oxford being omitted from Smith's list. On the other hand, Smith adds as many as twenty-nine cross-roads, and variations of routes, so that his "High Wais" is much more complete as a Road-Book than anything previously published.¹ The early part of the seventeenth century was not productive of Road-Book literature, and it was not until the publication by John Norden of his 'Intended Guyde', in 1625, that, for the purpose of this sketch, there is anything to note. The Tables of Distances of which this work consists, and which were re-engraved in the series of handbooks for travellers now to be referred to, though not in a strict sense Road-Books, are yet so closely associated with travel upon roads that I propose to incorporate them here. Norden's 'England An Intended Guyde, For English Travailers', is a thin, small quarto book, printed in London. It consists of an engraved title-page, a preface, and forty plates of triangular tables of distances, of which three—England, Yorkshire, and Wales—are to fold, and the remaining thirty-seven are square plates filling one page each of the book, and including plates of the English counties, Leicester and Rutland being grouped together, and Monmouth omitted. The arrangement is shown in the facsimile of the reduction of the Hertfordshire Table as engraved by Jacob van Langeren in 1635 (page 22, *ante*).

'A Direction for the English Traviller' is the title of Van Langeren's publication, of which copies exist of 1635 and 1636. It is printed by Mathew Simons, and is made up

¹ William Smith was born about 1550, and died on October 1, 1618.

of Norden's tables reduced to about 4 inches square, with a minute map engraved for each county in the blank space in the right-hand bottom corner. It has also a circular frontispiece map of England, and a title¹ and two plates of instructions, all engraved. It should, when perfect, contain the same number of tables as in Norden's original, three of them to fold. In 1643 Thomas Jenner used Van Langeren's plates, with a more detailed and larger map engraved on each, for a further issue of the 'Direction', of which also there is an impression without date published by John Garret, and in 1657, 1662, and 1668, Jenner published a set of these last-mentioned plates, with a printed text giving lists of the places in each shire. This little book has a very lengthy title, commencing 'A Book of the Names of all Parishes, Market Towns, Villages, Hamblets, and Smallest Places, in England and Wales. Alphabetically set down, as they be in every Shire'. A final issue was made by John Garret in 1677. Similarly constructed tables are used in the *Magna Britannia et Hibernia* of the Rev. Thomas Cox (1720 and 1738), and their method is found adapted to its original purpose in many geographical publications down to the present time.²

¹ 'A Direction for the English Traveller. By which he Shal be inabled to Coast about all England and Wales. And also to know how farre any Market or noteable Towne in any Shire lyeth one from an other, and Whether the same be East, West, North, or South from y^e Shire Towne. As also the distance betweene London and any other Shire or great towne: with the scituation thereof East, West, North, or South from London. By the help also of this worke one may know (in what Parish, Village, or Mansion house soever he be in) What Shires he is to passe through and which way he is to travell till he come to his Journies End. *Infaelix cuius nulli Sapientia prodest.*'

² Amongst the numerous publications of John Taylor, "The Water Poet" (1580–1654), are two curious little books which have some connexion with methods of local travel. They appeared in 1636 and 1637 respectively. Their titles sufficiently indicate their purpose and contents, and are, perhaps, worth transcribing. They run as follows: 'The Honorable and Memorable Foundations, Erections, Raisings, and Ruines, of divers Cities, Townes, Castles, and other Pieces of Antiquitie, within ten Shires and Counties of this Kingdome; Namely, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Surry, Barkshire, Sussex, Middlesex, Hartfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire: With the Description of many famous Accidents that have happened, in divers places in the said Counties. Also, a Relation of the Wine Tavernes either by their signes, or names of the persons that allow, or keepe them, in, and throughout the said severall Shires. By John Taylor.

The only other publication of this period dealing with roads which requires mention is 'A New Booke of Mapps, Being A ready Guide or Direction for any Stranger, or other, who is to Travel in any part of the Cōmon-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland'. This is a very rudimentary Road-Book, the various routes being arranged in small tables, lettered successively. Amongst the contents are "Alphabetical Tables, shewing the Longitude and Latitude of all the Towns named in the Said Maps", and "Tables of the Highwayes in England, Wales, and Ireland, Alphabetically methodized; which hath made them very plaine". It contains other tables, and two folding maps, is the work of Thomas Porter; and was "sold by Robert Walton, at the Rose and Crown at the West end of S. Pauls, 1655". It is a thin little duodecimo volume. The highways set out for England and Wales number twenty-five, and the principal cross-roads twelve. Irish roads are also given, but for Scotland there is only an alphabetical table and no roads.

Scotland

In Holinshed's 'Chronicle', after the roads of England already noted, is a short list of Scottish roads, seven in number, headed "Of certeine waies in Scotland, out of Reginald Wolfes his annotation", as follows: (1) "From Barwic to Edenborow", in nine stages, 57 miles; (2) "From Edenborow to Barwic, another waie", in six stages, 41 miles; (3) "From Edenborow to Dunbrittaine westward", in five stages,

London, Printed for Henry Gosson. 1636', and 'The Carriers Cosmographie. Or a Briefe Relation, of The Innes, Ordinaries, Hosteries, and other lodgings in, and neere London, where the Carriers, Waggons, Foote-posts and Higglers, doe usually come, from any parts, townes, shires and counties, of the Kingdomes of England, Principality of Wales, as also from the Kingdomes of Scotland and Ireland. . . . By John Taylor. London, Printed for A. G. 1637'.

At the end of the first of these prints it is stated that "The totall of all the Tavernes in all the ten Shires and Counties aforesaid, are 686, or thereabouts". The 'Cosmographie' refers to the post to Scotland as follows: "Those that will send any letter to Edenborough, that so they may be conveyed to and fro to any part of the Kingdome of Scotland, the Poste doth lodge at the signe of the Kings Armes (or the Cradle) at the upper end of Cheapside, from whence every Monday, any that have occasion may send."

48 miles ; (4) "From Strivelin to Kinghorne eastward", in eight stages, 30 miles ; (5) "From Kinghorne to Taimouth", in four stages, 31 miles ; (6) "From Taimouth to Stockeford", in eleven stages, 179 miles ; and (7) "From Carleill to Whiteherne westward", in five stages, 79 miles. In 'The Description of Scotland . . . unto the year 1571, and continued to 1585', originally published in 1585, which occurs in vol. v of the edition of 1808, no mention is made of the roads of Scotland.

Thomas Porter's 'New Booke of Mapps', already mentioned, while it gives an alphabetical table of names of towns for Scotland, does not contain any particulars of roads in that country.

Nothing else in the way of Road-Books relating to Scotland appears to have been published in this period.

Ireland

In the middle of the seventeenth century four small books were printed relating to the means of communication between different parts of Ireland, and this appears to be the first attempt to establish anything in the nature of an Itinerary for that Kingdom. Two only of these publications can be classed as Road-Books in a strict sense. The earliest is 'A Guide for Strangers in the Kingdome of Ireland. Wherein The High-Wayes and Roads from all the Sea-Townes, Market Parishes, great or small is truely set down, throughout every Province, and the whole Kingdome, by a Surveyor therof John Woodhouse. . . . London, Printed for John Rothwell, at the signe of the Sun and Fountain, in Paul's Churchyard, 1647'. This little octavo book has sixteen leaves only. It is a regular Road-Book, setting out "The High-wayes of Ireland", fifteen in number, with variations of most of them, and is certainly the earliest printed Itinerary of that Kingdom. This is followed, in 1655, by Thomas Porter's 'New Booke of Mapps', London, 12mo, of which details are already given under England, and which contains a section (pp. 50-58) giving eighteen "High wayes in Ireland", and

fourteen "Crosse Roads", with an index. The other two topographical works of this period are both lists of towns in Ireland. The first, of 1647 also, and printed by Rothwell, who published for John Woodhouse, is entitled 'Ireland, Or a Booke: Together with an Exact Mappe of the most principall Townes, great and small, in the said Kingdome. Wherein the Longitude, Latitude, and distance of one Towne from another, as also the County or Province such place is in, Alphabetically set down. Very usefull for all sorts of people, that have or may have interest in that Kingdome'. It consists of a folding map of Ireland, and twelve leaves of print, of which fifteen pages are taken up by "A Booke containing the Great and small Townes of Ireland", a list arranged in groups under letters of the alphabet, showing for each town the Province with its longitude and latitude. In 1653 Thomas Jenner published in London (printed for him by M. Simmons) a small quarto volume very similar in style and arrangement to the 'Book of the Names' already referred to as issued by him for England and Wales in 1657. It has a lengthy title commencing 'The Map of Ireland, With the exact Dimensions of the Provinces therein contained, and those againe divided into their severall Counties. With the names of all the Townes and places great and small alphabetically set down'. The three provinces of Munster, Leinster, and Ulster only are dealt with—the names of the places in each being set down under letters of the alphabet in three columns, the names of the counties in each province heading each list. The book has only twenty pages in all, and should be accompanied by a map, which is wanting in the copy in the British Museum. From this time for more than a century I have not found anything in the nature of a Road-Book for Ireland; the earliest Itinerary in the eighteenth century in which Irish roads are incorporated being, apparently, 'Rocque's Traveller's Assistant', London, 1763, 12mo, noted more fully below.

II. ITINERARIES AND ROAD-BOOKS, 1675-1798

England

In 1675 John Ogilby published, in 100 folio plates, the principal roads of England and Wales, engraved on strips or bands, giving particulars of the road itself and notes of the country on either side. This work was the result of a regular perambulation and measurement of distance "by the Wheel" undertaken by order of Charles II. It is the pattern upon which a vast number of successive Road-Books have been drawn from its publication until our own times. It was one of three projected volumes, the second to consist of descriptions and plans of twenty-five cities, and the third of a topographical description of the whole kingdom, but it alone was printed. The title of the work will be found in a note on p. 10, *ante*. A second impression appeared in 1698. The principal roads of England and Wales are here distributed over eighty-five Itineraries with a classification of the roads as direct roads (from London) and cross-roads. The 100 plates and a descriptive text of 200 pages are interleaved, and are followed by a table, unpaged, of 4 pp. It appears from the "advertisement" that it was intended to measure 40,000 miles of roads. In the following year (1676) John Ogilby and William Morgan published an Epitome of the *Britannia*, under the title, 'The Traveller's Pocket-Book; or Ogilby and Morgan's Book of the Roads', London, 12mo, which went through a long series of editions. I have noted the following: 4th, 1689; 6th, 1721; 1730; 7th, 1732; 11th, 1752; 1759; 17th, 1775; 19th, 1778; 21st, 1782; 22nd, 1785, and 24th, 1794. This is a summary of the routes, stages, and distances, with a few descriptive notes, and has no special interest.¹

¹ In an advertisement in the 6th edition, 1721, it is recited that "John Ogilby and William Morgan being thereunto appointed, and their Method approved by King Charles the Second, and the Lords of the Council, and having in prosecution thereof, with many Years Travel, and the Expence of 7,000*l.* published the First Volume of *Britannia*, containing an Hundred whole Sheet Maps of the Roads, Etc. did in the Year 1676, publish an Epitome of the same, whereof you have here the Fifth Impression; to

More elaborate is the text of Ogilby's *Britannia*, without the maps, reprinted in octavo in 1699, as 'The Traveller's Guide; or, a Most Exact Description of the Roads of England'. It consists of the title, a preface, table of contents, a general map, and the '*Itinerarium Angliae*, or a Book of the Roads of England and Wales', of 254 pages. This, again, was reprinted about 1711.

In 1719 John Senex published in the form of an oblong quarto atlas, in two vols., with the title 'An Actual Survey Of all the Principal Roads of England and Wales; Described by One Hundred Maps from Copper Plates . . . First perform'd and publish'd by John Ogilby, Esq.; And now improved, very much corrected, and made portable by John Senex', a reduced set of Ogilby's plates, making up 101 plates in lieu of 100. This atlas went through several editions, of which I have noted those of 1757, 1762, and 1775. Senex's plates were copied by Desnos, and published in Paris with a double title in French and English, forming, with a preface and a general map of England, the *Nouvel Atlas d'Angleterre, divisé En ses 52 Comtés Avec toutes les Routes Levées Topographiquement par ordre de S. M. Britannique et les Plans des Villes et Ports de ce Royaume. A Paris. Chez le Sieur Desnos. . . 1767*, small fol.

Of the Road-Books founded on Ogilby's survey, the best known, however, is the *Britannia Depicta*, a small quarto volume of 273 plates, preceded by a title and several tables. The whole is engraved, and consists of road-strips in three or four columns on each page, with county maps, coats of arms, and descriptive text interspersed. The first edition is dated 1720, and the last 1764. Editions of 1720, 1724, 1731, 1734, 1736, 1749, 1751, 1753, 1759, and 1764 are all that I have been able to find.

The following Itineraries and Road-Books of England and Wales are also closely associated with Ogilby's survey: 'The Infallible Guide to Travellers,' 1682, a little book giving only the "four Principal Roads of England", viz.: London to

which is added some Roads, and in the Tables more than Five Hundred Market Towns, with their Distance from *London*".

Aberistwith, London to Arundel, London to Barwick, and London to Bristol; 'A Pocket Guide to the English Traveller', 1719, published by J. Tonson for Thomas Gardner, which is another copy of Ogilby's plates, rather more coarsely engraved than those of Senex of the same date, and 'The Traveller's Pocket Companion', 1741, founded on the maps of Ogilby and Senex.

Another Road-Book, but without Road-Maps, is 'Owen's New Book of Roads; or, a Description of the Roads of Great Britain. Being a Companion to Owen's Complete Book of Fairs'. It is a small octavo volume. Only a few copies are to be found in the Public Libraries: the 2nd, 1779, the 4th, 1784, 1788; the 7th, 1796, 1802, 1805, 1808, 1814, 1827, and 1840. The 'Book of Fairs' was first issued, it seems, in 1756, though in the preface to the edition of this date there is mention of an issue "about three years since" which had been found defective, and as to which it is stated that the publisher had "made waste paper of the unsold Books".

Daniel Paterson, assistant to the Quarter-Master-General of His Majesty's Forces, printed in London, January 1, 1771, 'A New and Accurate Description of all the Direct and Principal Cross Roads in Great Britain . . . The Whole on a Plan far preferable to any Work of the Kind Extant'. It is a thin octavo book consisting of a title, preface, and xxiv + 77 pages of text. The eighteen editions of this publication extend from 1771 to 1826, with continuation by Mogg up to about 1832.

It increased slowly in size and detail up to the year following the publication of 'Cary's New Itinerary' (1798), when in Paterson's twelfth edition (1799) the text was very largely increased by matter copied from Cary. A dispute arose between John Cary and the publishers of Paterson's book, and the result of an action (*Cary versus Longman and another*) was to give complete satisfaction to the former. Paterson, however, appears to have continued to publish his Road-Book, and in its enlarged form. From the sixteenth edition this Road-Book is "remodelled, augmented, and improved" by Edward Mogg.

Besides his 'Description', Paterson published, under the title 'Paterson's British Itinerary', a book of engraved Road Strips in two volumes, small 8vo, with a preface and an index, and interleaved printed details of the roads and distances between towns, etc. There are two editions of this work, 1785 and 1803, the latter being described on the title-page as "The Second Edition Improved". Paterson also issued 'A Travelling Dictionary; or, Alphabetical Tables . . . being a second part to the New and Accurate Description of the Roads'. It is a small octavo volume of Tables of Distances somewhat on the lines of those of Norden. About 50,000 distances are given. The various editions are dated 1772, 1773 (2nd), 1777 (3rd), 1781 (4th), 1787 (5th), 1797 (7th), and there is also one attributed to 1799, which should be the 8th, and apparently the last edition. The only edition mentioned by Gough ('British Topography', vol. i, p. 107) is that of 1772.

To this period also belongs an uninteresting publication by the Dodsleys, 'A New and Accurate Description of the Present Great Roads and the Principal Cross Roads of England and Wales', London, 1756, 8vo, which was followed by a better-known and more original work, 'Rocque's Traveller's Assistant', 1763, 12mo, and, at a long interval, by the *Itinéraire des Routes les plus fréquentées, ou Journal d'un Voyage aux Villes principales de l'Europe, En 1768, 1769, 1770, et 1771*. This general descriptive Road-Book, of which the author was Louis Dutens, dates from earlier than 1777, the year of the earliest impression I have seen, and continued through as many as six editions, the 4th, 5th, and 6th being of 1783, 1786, and 1793 respectively. In the two earlier issues the only British Roads are those from Edinburgh to London and London to Dover (for Lille and Paris), but, in the 6th edition, in which the *Journal* extends to the year 1783, a few other British Roads are added. A translation of Dutens's Itinerary was published in 1792, by John Highmore, London, 8vo. John Gibson drew and engraved and published in 1765 nine road-maps of the chief roads in England, showing the various routes from London, but I have not been able to examine a copy.

A more local Road-Book is 'The Kentish Traveller's Companion', giving the road from London to Margate, Dover, and Canterbury, with several sheets of road-maps, interspersed in descriptive text. The first edition was of 1772, and one revised and very considerably enlarged was published four years later (London, small 8vo, 1776). Others are found of 1779, 1787, 1790, 1794, and 1799.

'Bowles's Post-Chaise Companion', another book of engraved road-maps, with indexes, etc., is found in two volumes, "the second edition, corrected and greatly improved, with additions", London, 1782, small 8vo. The first edition was published without date. The title is similar in type and appearance to that of 1782, but differs verbally from that issue. It is "London: Printed for the Proprietor Carington Bowles, At his Map and Print Warehouse, No. 69, St. Paul's Church Yard".

In anticipation of the publication of his 'New Itinerary' John Cary had published, from as early as 1783, maps of London and the environs, and other topographical works. His earlier Road-Books are of considerable beauty, very finely engraved, and coloured by hand. The first is the road from London to Falmouth, surveyed by Aaron Arrowsmith in 1782, and engraved and published by Cary in 1784, in 12mo, in the form of a series of road-strips, under the title: 'The Actual Survey of the Great Post Roads between London and Falmouth'. So also is a small quarto book, with the roads coloured, entitled 'Cary's Survey of the High Roads from London to Hampton Court . . .', which gives all the roads round London in great detail on forty finely engraved and coloured plates. This book was issued in 1790, and editions subsequently appeared in 1799, 1801, and 1810. 'Cary's Traveller's Companion', a series of small county maps, with the roads specially distinguished upon them, though not a Road-Book, should be noted in connexion with road-delineation, as should be the quarto and folio atlases of the English counties ('New and Correct English Atlas', 1787-1831, 'New English Atlas', 1809-34) and the similar atlases by Charles Smith, of 1804 and subsequent dates. Of

Smith's quarto county atlas a copy exists in the University Library at Cambridge, the only one known to me. It is dated 1822. The 'Traveller's Companion' is found in at least twelve editions (1790, 1791, 1806, 1810, 1812, 1814, 1817, 1819, 1821, 1822, 1824, and 1828). Cary also engraved and published in 1792 a set of plates for 'The Road from the New Port of Milford, To the New Passage of the Severn, and Gloucester', surveyed in 1790 by C. Hassall and J. Williams. In the same year appeared 'A Topographical Survey of the Great Road from London to Bath and Bristol . . . To which is added A Correct Map of the Country Three Miles on each side of the Road; planned from a Scale of One Inch to a Mile', by Archibald Robertson, London, 8vo. These plates are very beautifully engraved, and resemble Cary's work. No engraver's name appears on them.

Only three other general Road-Books of England and Wales need be mentioned as belonging to the eighteenth century. They are 'Jefferys' Itinerary, or Traveller's Companion through England, Wales, and part of Scotland' (maps of the roads on 104 plates), obl. 8vo, 1775; 'The Traveller's Guide Through England and Wales', by Thomas Kitchin, London, 1783, a work illuminated by "General Hints for the Management of Horses", and 'The Traveller's Companion', compiled by Thomas Pride and Philip Luckombe, London, 1789, 8vo.

Other works dealing with special roads are 'Taylor and Skinner's Survey of the Great Post Roads, Between London, Bath and Bristol', London, 12mo, and 'An Actual Survey of the Great Post Roads Between London and Edinburgh', by Mostyn John Armstrong, London, 8vo, which both bear date 1776, and are interesting specimens of road-map engraving; 'The Actual Survey of the Country Ten Miles round Hampton Court and Richmond', engraved by Cary in 1786, and 'A Plan of the Present and propos'd New Road lying between Wood Brook and the Pigeon House, on the Road from Birmingham to Bromsgrove' [1789] (surveyed by James Sherriff in 1786). These plates are all very fine and satisfactory work. Armstrong also published, in the year follow-

ing the appearance of the survey of the road to Edinburgh, ' Armstrong's Actual Survey of the Great Post Road between London and Dover, With the Country Three Miles on each Side. Drawn on a Scale of Half an Inch to a Mile '. London, 1777, 8vo. From the preface to this Road-Book it appears that Armstrong intended to publish a series of such works, one for each of the principal roads throughout England on the same plan and scale. The volumes for the roads from London to Edinburgh and London to Dover were, it seems probable, the only ones issued.

Scotland

While John Ogilby confined his perambulation of roads to England and Wales, and was followed in this limitation by the books which depended on his survey—' The Traveller's Guide ', 1699, *Britannia Depicta*, 1720, etc., and Senex's reproductions of Ogilby's Road-Maps, as well as the earlier issues of ' Ogilby and Morgan's Traveller's Pocket Book '—the northern roads were continued first to Edinburgh, and, later, to Glasgow and to Port Patrick, and from Edinburgh to Aberdeen and Inverness, and cross-roads were inserted for the southern parts of Scotland in English Itineraries from at least as early as ' Rocque's Traveller's Assistant ' (1763), and the first issue of Paterson's ' Roads ' (1771).

Some special publications occur, however, early in the eighteenth century, dealing with the Scottish roads, which are curious.

The first in date, of which a copy exists in the Signet Library at Edinburgh, is a small Road-Book of 16 pages, with the title: ' A Geographical Description of Scotland. With the Faires largely inserted ; As also, an exact Table of Tides, and Table of the Latitude and Longitude of the most remarkable places in *Scotland* ; with other useful notes, fit for every man to know, either on Sea or Land. Exactly Calculate and formed, for the use of Travellers, Mariners, and others, who have any Affairs, or Merchandizing in this Kingdom of *Scotland*. By James Paterson, Mathematician. Edinburgh, Printed in the Year, 1681 '. It contains a very brief "Geo-

graphical Description", followed by "The Course and Distance betwixt the most remarkable Ports, Capes, or Headlands amongst the Coast of Scotland" and "A Description of the most remarkable High-wayes in Scotland". This latter is a list of roads with distances, but not formally arranged. The above run to five pages in all. A list of the Fairs, and one of the Shires and Burghs, fill six more pages. These are followed by some verses, "A Description of the Comet", an Advertisement and a Tide Table. The book is not paged, and stands only 147 mm. in height. In the same Library is also an edition of this Road-Book of 1687: 'The Third Edition, much Corrected and Inlarged. Printed at *Holy-Rood-House*, And are to be sold by the Author, at the Sign of the Sea Cross staff, Etc. 1687'. It is paged, and has twenty-four pages in all. The roads are arranged in the ordinary Road-Book form in two columns, and nearly fill eleven pages.

The Signet Library contains, besides, a work similar to the above in size and character but giving the fairs only, under the title: 'The Whole Yearly Faires and Weekly Mercats, Of this Ancient Kingdom of Scotland . . . Aberdeen, Printed for John Forbes, Printer to the City, and University August 22, Anno 1684'.

Although not a Road-Book, 'A Modern Account of Scotland; being An exact Description of the Country. And a True Character of the People and their Manners, Written from thence by an English Gentleman. Printed in the Year, 1679,' no place of publication, 8vo, by Thomas Kirke, is curious for its description of travel in the northern part of Britain in the seventeenth century. Kirke says of the Scotch: "The High-ways in *Scotland* are tolerably good, which is the greatest comfort a Traveller meets with amongst them; they have not Inns, but Change houses (as they call them) poor small Cottages, where you must be content to take what you find, perhaps Eggs with Chucks in them, and some Lang-Cale; at the better sort of them, a dish of chop'd Chickens, which they esteem a dainty dish, and will take it unkindly if you do not eat very heartily of it, though for the most part

you may make a Meal with the sight of the Fare, and be satisfied with the steam only, like the Inhabitants of the World in the Moon ; your Horses must be sent to a Stablers (for the Change-houses have no Lodgings for them) where they may fare voluptuously on Straw only, for Grass is not to [be] had, and Hay is so much a Stranger to them, that they are scarce familiar with the name of it." A copy of this little work, which has a title-page and seventeen pages of text only, is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. There is also a rough little pamphlet of only eight leaves, printed in Edinburgh in 1711, of which the title runs—'A Description of the Most Remarkable High-Ways, and whole known Fairs and Mercats In Scotland, With Several other Remarkable Things: As also, A Description of the High-Ways from one Notable Town to another, over all England, and thereby how to Travel from any of them to the City of London. Edinburgh, Printed by John Moncur, and Sold at his Printing House at the foot of the Bull Closs, 1711.' Five of its little pages are given to the roads of Scotland, two to the connexions with England and London.

Paterson, apparently, published his 'New and Accurate Description of all the Direct and Principal Cross Roads of Scotland' concurrently with the issues of his 'Roads' of Great Britain, but I have not succeeded in finding a copy earlier than one of the fifth edition, 1781. It was also issued in 1789, but, later, seems to have been amalgamated with the larger volume. In the latter the north road is continued from Berwick to Edinburgh from the first edition, which contains both an index to the roads of Scotland, and the principal direct and cross-roads of that kingdom. Paterson's 'Travelling Dictionary', which consists of distance tables, includes Scotland, and his 'British Itinerary', 1785 and 1803, includes engravings of some of the Scottish roads. 'Owen's New Book of Roads' incorporates a section for the high roads and principal cross-roads of Scotland, and Ogilby and Morgan, in their 'Traveller's Pocket Book', already mentioned, include the roads of Scotland from at least as early as the year 1782. 'Bowles's Post-Chaise Companion' (1782) contains,

in respect of Scotland, only the Scottish roads as far north as Edinburgh, from Berwick, and 'The Traveller's Companion', of 1789, those to Edinburgh, Glasgow and Port Patrick. Among French Road-Books, Dutens' *Itinéraire* gives the route from Edinburgh to London, and from the fifth edition (1786) adds two roads from Belmont to Edinburgh. The Itineraries and Road-Books exclusively devoted to the northern kingdom in the second half of the eighteenth century are thus not numerous. They consist in fact only of Paterson's Scottish Roads, already referred to, and the 'Survey and Maps of the Roads of North Britain or Scotland', engraved after the plan of Ogilby's survey of England, by a variety of artists, for the surveyors, George Taylor and Andrew Skinner, consisting of sixty-one plates, with a general map and an index, 1776, with, in the same year, a reduction of these plates, forming a duodecimo pocket volume of fifty-two pages, with a title and a general map, having the title: 'The Traveller's Pocket Book, or An Abstract of Taylor and Skinner's Survey of the Roads of Scotland.' Another reduction of the original Road-Book was published at Edinburgh later, apparently about 1805.

A very good copy of Taylor and Skinner's 'Roads' of Scotland (1776) in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, shows that the series of plates makes up a book standing as much as 524 mm. high by 227 mm. wide. The plates are very well engraved in three columns of roads, and give pretty full details. As many as nine engravers were employed upon them, namely: S. Pyle, — Barber, Thomas Bowen, J. Prockter, G. Terry, John Roberts, John Luffman, J. Taylor, and — Flyn. The dates on the plates extend from June 6th, 1775, to February 8th, 1776. The authors say that "the Military Roads are kept in the best Repair; and so much has been done of late Years to the other Roads, by the Attention of the Nobility and Gentry, that Travelling is made thereby incredibly easy, expeditious, and commodious; and such a Spirit of Improvement prevails throughout Scotland, that we venture to say, a few Years will Complete all the public Roads in that Part of the United Kingdom. There are good Inns on all the Roads, with Post

Chaises and Horses at every Stage, as far North as Inverness by Aberdeen".

Ireland

No Itineraries dealing with Ireland were published in the first half of the eighteenth century, as far as I am aware. In 1763 only do we find the roads of Ireland incorporated in a British Road-Book. John Rocque printed in that year his 'Traveller's Assistant', in which some pages are devoted to particulars of the roads radiating from Dublin. Fifteen years later George Taylor and Andrew Skinner published, upon the basis of a detailed survey made by them in the previous year (1777), the first complete set of road-maps of Ireland, which is, indeed, the only work of the kind which has been attempted at any time for that country. It is entitled: 'Taylor and Skinner's Maps of the Roads of Ireland, Surveyed 1777. Published for the Authors as the Act directs, 14th Nov^r. 1778 . . . Price £1 4s.' It is an octavo book, and consists principally of 288 pages of road-maps, measuring 115 mm. wide by 212 mm. high, engraved in narrow-ruled, double borders, sometimes divided into two columns, and sometimes in a whole plate. Tables of distances are given at the head of each route, and the details of the country are pretty fully engraved with hill-shading and other particulars. The plates are engraved by G. Terry, of 54 Paternoster Row, London, and bear various dates from July 29th to November 3rd, 1778. A title-page, dedication, and "Explanation", allengraved, and seventeen pages of printed indexes, and sixteen of the names of subscribers with their seats, complete the book, which was published at London, 8vo. A second edition was published in 1783, in both London and Dublin. It was followed by another well-known work, compiled by William Wilson, 'The Post Chaise Companion: or Travelling Directory through Ireland.' This is an octavo Road-Book printed in two columns, in which the descriptive matter largely predominates. It contains a few illustrations, views, and plans. There are at least four editions, 1784, 1786, 1803, and about 1814. The first issue is printed for the author at Dublin, and also, in another edition by William Faden, in London. This work is stated to be "Compiled from

the only authentic Survey ever made of the Roads in Ireland, by Messrs. Taylor and Skinner, and other valuable Works". It contains all the direct roads from Dublin, as well as the cross-roads of Ireland. At the end is a "Travelling Dictionary, or Alphabetical Tables", showing the distances between towns in Ireland, after the manner of Norden's distance tables, and more closely resembling in style those compiled by Daniel Paterson for England (1772, etc.). But this "Dictionary" is not found in the first edition. In an appendix to 'The Hibernian Gazetteer', by W. W. Seward, Dublin, small 8vo, 1789, is inserted "An accurate List of the Roads of Ireland", with an index. The main part of this work is descriptive only. The next Road-Book of Ireland, in point of date, is 'The Traveller's Guide Through Ireland', Dublin, 1794, 8vo, compiled by George Tyner, in the regular form by this date well established for such publications, and, in the following year, there appeared at the end of a *Topographia Hibernica*, by Seward, Dublin, 4to, a large folding distance table of sixty-six of the towns of Ireland. The above seem to be the only Itineraries and publications of a like character which appeared in Ireland between 1675 and 1798.

III. ITINERARIES AND ROAD-BOOKS, 1798-1850

England

The publication of 'Cary's New Itinerary' distinguishes the commencement of my third period. It seems that John Cary¹ had been engaged, upon certain terms of remuneration, combined with the privilege of exclusive publication of the measurements and particulars accumulated, to exactly measure the post and mail-coach roads, and that he completed an accurate perambulation of, in the first instance, 9,000 miles

¹ See the paper entitled 'John Cary, Engraver, Map-seller and Globemaker', *post*, p. 84. I have completed a full bibliography of this geographical publisher, whose output of maps and topographical and other works was very considerable, and whose work marks an epoch in the cartographical art as developed in England, but it remains for the present in manuscript.

of roads, and, subsequently, of 1,000 additional miles. Upon the basis of the former set of measurements Cary published the 'Itinerary' in 1798. This work was re-issued, with some enlargement, in the same year, and it subsequently passed through ten editions, besides that of 1798, dated respectively, 1802, 1806, 1810, 1812, 1815, 1817, 1819, 1821, 1826, and 1828. It is an octavo volume, consisting of tables of the principal and cross-roads, described with particulars of the gentlemen's seats and principal places of interest passed in travelling along them, together with a series of indexes and lists, and a few maps. It gradually increased in size, in the number of indexes, and of maps from edition to edition. The rival publication of Daniel Paterson, and later of Edward Mogg, runs through the following editions, commencing with the twelfth, in the same period: 1799, 1803, 1808, 1811, 1822, 1824, 1826, about 1829, and an undated re-issue of about 1832. The controversy between Cary and the publishers of Paterson's 'Description' has already been referred to. In 1803 Cary published an abbreviation of the 1802 edition of the 'Itinerary', in similar form, but with the list of gentlemen's seats omitted, under the title 'Cary's British Traveller'. In 1804 he issued 'A New Index Villaris of England and Wales', primarily intended to accompany his large map of England and Wales (1794), but now issued separately. His 'Survey of the High Roads from London', as has been already stated, was re-issued in 1799, 1801, and 1810. The later editions of the 'Itinerary' (from 1806) have often the set of small county maps entitled the 'Traveller's Companion' bound up with them. Cary's two other sets of county maps, upon which the roads are specially delineated, also form part of the literature of the nineteenth century.

Paterson's 'Description' grew from year to year much in the same way as the 'New Itinerary', and the last editions, published by Mogg (1822 to 1832), are very elaborate and finely printed publications, and contain a vast amount of carefully arranged descriptive detail. 'Paterson's British Itinerary' of 1803 is a re-issue, as the "second edition Improved", of the original impression of this Road-Book of

1785, and the eighth and final edition of his 'Travelling Dictionary' (Alphabetical Tables of Distances) appeared about 1799. In an advertisement in the 'Description' of 1811 (15th edition) is a notice of "Paterson's Roads in a Pocket Size (The Gentlemen's Seats being omitted) for the convenience of Travellers on Horseback.... The Whole greatly augmented and improved by the Communications of Francis Freeling, Esq., Secretary to the Post-Office, . . .", but this work I have not examined.

Edward Mogg, besides his editions of "Paterson", began, in 1814, the publication of 'A Survey of the High Roads of England and Wales and Part of Scotland planned on a Scale of 1 inch to a Mile', a large octavo volume of road-maps, very well engraved and coloured. The "No. 1, Part I" in the British Museum contains 81 plates, all dated June 1st, 1814. As late as 1822, Mogg, in his preface to the edition of that year of Paterson's 'Roads', speaks of the *first part* of the 'Survey' as already before the public. It seems to have been the only part issued. He had previously (in 1808) issued a 'Survey of the Roads from London to Brighton' and to other towns on the south coast, in the same style as the plates of the 'Survey' of 1814. He published, in 1826, a 'Pocket Itinerary of the Direct and Cross-Roads of England and Wales, with part of the Roads of Scotland'. At this time Charles Smith, who was a rival to Cary in the production of English atlases, was engaged on various Road-Books. He issued an 'Actual Survey of the Roads from London to Brighton', etc., in May, 1800 (London, 12mo), in coloured road-plates, and a 'New Pocket Companion' in 1826, of which another edition appeared the following year. 'The Imperial Guide, with Picturesque Plans of the Great Post Roads, containing Miniature Likenesses, engraved from real sketches' was begun in 1802 by J. Baker, London, 8vo. It is a volume of text, made up in parts, containing, with other illustrations, eighteen plates, coloured, showing a series of little panoramic views one above the other, with a slight dotted line indicating the route followed running through them from the top to the bottom of the plate. It is not clear whether

this volume is complete, or only contains a portion of the series of plates. Cooke's 'Modern British Traveller', published in forty-seven volumes, London, 12mo, without dates, is attributable to a period between 1802 and 1810. There were many later reprints, usually undated, up to as late as 1830. The separate parts of this work are headed: 'Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of . . .', and contain, for each county, a distance table on the model of that of Norden, and 'An Itinerary of all the Direct and Principal Cross Roads', besides the descriptive text, index, &c.

In 1804 David Ogilvy, jun., published 'A General Itinerary of England and Wales with part of Scotland', London, 8vo. It is a Road-Book of printed text in the ordinary form. 'Kearsley's Traveller's Entertaining Guide through Great Britain' (1st edition, London, 1801, 8vo; 2nd edition, "much enlarged and improved", London, 1803, 8vo) is a Road-Book with arrangement in two columns, indexes, etc., in which the descriptive matter is prominent. It has a folding frontispiece map of England and Wales and part of Scotland, showing the roads. 'Wallis's Pocket Itinerary' is a very compact little book of 500 pages, London, 1803, 12mo. In 1806 appeared 'Laurie and Whittle's New Traveller's Companion'. Editions of 1810, 1814, 1828, and 1834 have been noted. This is a thin, large octavo volume of plates engraved on a double page, of which twenty-four (and later twenty-five) are road-maps, covering, in general, the area of the whole of any county through which a road delineated passes. They are coloured. This is rather a specially interesting variety of the Road-Book. The author, or compiler, was Nathaniel Coltman. 'Leigh's New Pocket Road-Book', a thick, duodecimo volume, was first issued by Samuel Leigh in 1825, and there were seven subsequent editions, of 1826, 1831, 1833, 1835, 1837, 1839, and 1840. 'Gray's New Book of Roads', by George Carrington Gray, London, 1824, is another little pocket-book, containing an abbreviated and compact itinerary, and the set of county maps originally engraved for the 'Modern British Traveller' issued by Cooke. James Phippen's 'Road Guide from London to Tunbridge Wells' is a local Itinerary of this period, and

contains a coloured frontispiece road-map, divided into three columns. It is London, 1836, 12mo. Jasper Mottershead published at Shrewsbury (printed by C. Hulbert) a small pocket road-book with the title 'The Traveller's Guide, or Topographical Remembrancer', setting out the various roads to Holyhead, Liverpool, Manchester, and Edinburgh from London, with a small folding map, Shrewsbury, 1827, 18mo. The *Nouvel Itinéraire portatif de la Grande-Bretagne*, by Louis Quetin, is another Road-Book, of a very small pocket form, one of a series, of which I have seen editions of 1836 and 1837, and there are certainly others, including one attributed to 1825. It is published in Paris, 12mo. It only remains to notice the fact that 'Owen's New Book of Roads' has editions of 1805, 1808, 1814, 1827, and 1840 in the nineteenth century, and there are doubtless others. Something of a curiosity is a large table, or graphic representation published in London in 1836 by Charles L. Olivieri, *Courrier du commerce*, with text in French and English, entitled *Tableau de toutes les Routes de Poste de l'Europe*, which includes 20 *Routes partant de Londres pour l'Angleterre, l'Ecosse et l'Irlande*. It is a marvel of arrangement. Towards the end of this period travellers began to be supplied with particulars of the railway routes, following the form of Road-Books, of which 'Mogg's Handbook for Railway Travellers; or, Real Iron-Road Book', London, 16mo, [1839], 1840, and 1840, is an example. He also issued a series of special railway guides, of which the following are found in the British Museum: Brighton Railway, etc., 1841, 8vo; Birmingham, 1842, 16mo; Grand Junction, 1842, 16mo; Paris and Rouen, 1843, 12mo; London and Dover, 1843, 16mo; and Southampton, etc. [1845 ?], 8vo.

Scotland

The Itineraries of Cary, Paterson, and Owen, of which editions have been already noted as occurring in the nineteenth century, contain a certain number of the Scottish roads, and this is generally true of the English Road-Books of the period 1798-1850, such as Ogilvy's 'General Itinerary'

(1804), 'Laurie and Whittle's New Traveller's Companion' (editions of 1828 and 1834), 'Mogg's Pocket Itinerary' (1826), 'Gray's Book of Roads' (1824), Smith's 'New Pocket Companion' (1826 and 1827), Mogg's 'Survey' (1814), the *Nouvel Itinéraire portatif* (1825, 1836, 1837), and the first edition of 'Leigh's Pocket Road-Book', which contains "Part of Scotland" (1825).

The special Scottish Road-Books are again not numerous. They include, in the first decade of the century, 'The Gazetteer of Scotland', Dundee, 1803, and Edinburgh, 1806, 8vo (but only for a short table of a few pages of the principal roads, measured from Edinburgh); 'The Scotch Itinerary, containing the Roads through Scotland, on a New Plan', by James Duncan, Glasgow, 1805, 12mo, with editions of 1808, 1816, 1820, [1821], and 1827 (in which the author explains that "the Scotch Itinerary was begun upwards of two years ago, under the conviction that there was not in print a proper list of the Roads through Scotland"); and an edition, in small octavo, "with the New Roads, Etc., Etc., since the survey was taken," of 'Taylor and Skinner's Survey of the Roads of Scotland'. This last-mentioned work has now 178 pages of road-maps, engraved, with eight index-pages, also engraved, at the end. It is published at Edinburgh by Thos. Brown, without date, but on paper water-marked 1805. It may, therefore, be attributed to that, or an immediately subsequent, year. Some period occurs between these publications and the appearance of any original work in the nature of an Itinerary of the Scottish roads. In 1821 the "Second Edition, With numerous Corrections and Additions", of 'An Account of the Principal Pleasure Tours in Scotland, with a copious Itinerary of the Great Lines of Road, and the several Cross Roads in the Country' appeared, Edinburgh, 8vo. I have no note of the earlier issue. This book is in two sections, the Itinerary constituting the second. Two years later was published the 'Principal Roads through Scotland, From Edinburgh, Glasgow, Etc.; Including the Usual Tours by the Forts along the Caledonian Canal, and to Loch Katrine', also in the second edition, Edinburgh 1823, 12mo. There is

besides an edition of 1827 of this work. 'Leigh's New Pocket Road-Book of Scotland', a companion volume to those issued for England and Wales, and Ireland, seems to have been first published as a separate Scottish guide in 1829. There was a third edition, "considerably enlarged and improved", in 1839. 'The Scottish Land Tourist's Pocket Guide', with an appendix containing the principal roads through Scotland, editions of 1839, 16mo, and 1850, 18mo, both Glasgow, and the Itinerary printed at the end of the early editions of 'Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland', Edinburgh, 1843, etc., 12mo, complete the list of what I have found worth formal notice in the way of Scottish Road-Books.

Ireland

The nineteenth century, again, produced few Itineraries of Ireland. The 'Traveller's Director through Ireland' appeared in 1801. It was compiled by J. S. Dodd, M.D., and printed at Dublin, 8vo, and gives the roads from Dublin as well as the cross-roads of Ireland, and those from London to Holyhead in the usual double-column form. In 1806 an 'Introductory Essay to a New System of Civil and Ecclesiastical Topography, and Itinerary of the Counties of Ireland' was published by the Rev. Matthew Sleater in Dublin, 8vo. It is not very much of a Road-Book for all its pretentious title. 'The Traveller's New Guide through Ireland, Containing a New and Accurate Description of the Roads', another 8vo volume, published in Dublin, appeared in 1815. It is mainly a description, but short tables of the roads are dispersed in the text, and it may be properly classed as a Road-Book. 'Leigh's New Pocket Road-Book of Ireland' was first published in London by Samuel Leigh in 1827. A second edition was issued in 1832, and a third in 1835. This compact little duodecimo volume is one of a series with the similar 'Road-Book for England and Wales and part of Scotland' (1825-40), already noticed, and 'The Pocket Road-Book of Scotland' (1829 and 1839), and contains descriptive text with a general distance table, and with tables of the roads heading each of the 208 routes. There are also separate tables of the cross-

roads. The only other publication of the first half of the nineteenth century which I have noted as containing tables of the Irish roads is the *Nouvel Itinéraire portatif de la Grande-Bretagne, comprenant l'Angleterre, l'Ecosse et l'Irlande*, already referred to, which gives the route to Dublin from London, and some roads from Dublin to the principal towns in Ireland. The edition I have examined of this handy volume is one dated 1836, but there is an earlier issue attributed to 1825, and one also of 1837, all printed in Paris, 12mo.

FRANCE

It may be not without interest to follow up the references to the early French *Guides-Itinéraires* in the Introduction by a short note of the more modern Itineraries published in France. As in England, in the seventeenth century France is bare of any systematic publications in the nature of Road-Books, though both the *Guide* of Charles Estienne and the *Description Sommaire* of Mayerne Turquet appeared in their later issues in the early part of that century, and descriptive works, such as *Le Voyage de France*, of Olivier de Varennes (Paris, 1639, 1641, 1643, 1647, 1662, 1665, 1675); *Le Fidèle Conducteur*, of Louis Coulon (1654); *Le Voyage de France*, of Du Verdier (1655 and 1673), and *Le Guide Fidèle des Etrangers dans le Voyage de France* (1672), were issued during that period.

But in the eighteenth century the complete organization of the system of *Postes* in that country, of which the earlier developments have already been referred to, is marked by the official publication of an annual *Liste Générale des Postes de France*,¹ in a small duodecimo volume, engraved throughout, and issued by Jaillot, at Paris. The first year of publication was 1708, apparently, with 73 routes, and the series was continued to 1788. From 1787 a similar work, but printed from type by P. D. Pierres, runs till the year X of the

¹ *Liste Générale des Postes de France dressée par Ordre de Monseigneur le Marquis de Torcy Ministre et Secrétaire d'Estat et des Commandemens de sa Majesté Chancelier de ses Ordres Surintendant General des Postes et Relais de France. Pour le Service du Roy et pour la commodité du Public.*

Republic, under the title *État Général des Postes de France*. This again is succeeded by *Le Petit Livre de Poste*, published by Lecoustrier *l'aîné* in the years XI (June, 1803) to XIII of the Republic, which, in its turn, is followed by *Le Livre de Poste*, also by Lecoustrier *l'aîné*, 1811-29, and the *Annuaire des Postes*, 1832-54. It will be thus seen that for about a century and a half these publications were continuous year by year.

This regular official year-book of the postal roads displaced to some extent the necessity for private effort in the publication of information as to the method of travel throughout France.

Some interesting works were, however, issued in the middle and towards the end of the eighteenth century, and were continued into the century following. Of the Road-Books with maps of the roads of this period the best known are those of Desnos, *L'Indicateur fidèle, ou Guide des Voyageurs*, which first appeared in a thin quarto volume containing 13 maps, in 1764, and was subsequently enlarged, and of which editions exist of 1765, 1775, 1780, the *Guide Royale ou Dictionnaire Topographique des Gr^{des} Routes de Paris aux Villes, Bourgs, et Abbayes du Royaume*, by Louis Denis, 1774, &c., and *Le Conducteur Français*, 1776.

The following may be also noted: the *Itinéraire Complet de la France*, 1788; the *Itinéraire descriptif ou Description Routière . . . de la France et de l'Italie*, in parts, by de Villiers (part iii, 1814); the *Description Routière et Géographique de l'Empire Français*, 1813-18; the *Tableaux Itinéraires des Distances de Paris aux Principales Villes de France, et à toutes les Capitales d'Europe*, 1821; an *Atlas Topographique de la Route de Paris à Reims*, 1825; a number of narrow road-strips entitled *Routes de France*, 1824, etc.; the *Programmes Itinéraires des Routes de France*, and the *Itinéraire descriptif de la France*, 1830, which sufficiently illustrate, for my present purpose, the comparative development of Road-Book literature in the two countries from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth. Some of these books contained well-engraved

and coloured road-maps, especially those published by Desnos and Denis. 'An Actual Survey and Itinerary of the Road from Calais to Paris', published in London, in 1814, of which an edition of 1831 exists, is interesting, the plates being engraved after the manner of Cary's road-maps, with a descriptive text in both French and English arranged in parallel columns.

CONCLUSION

It will be seen from the foregoing that the literature of Road-Books and Itineraries is very considerable in volume, that it has a long historical range, and that it presents features of interest of various kinds which render a review and study of the whole subject to some limited extent profitable.

How far, and in what detail, such an investigation should be carried on is obviously a matter for discussion. I now only desire to lay some foundation, and to direct attention to much that is historical and something which may be called geographical in substance, if only from a point of view collateral to the bibliographical work involved.

Librarians might, perhaps, consider with advantage the grouping of this class of literature under special headings in catalogues, which, up to now, has only very partially been the case.

Here the position of topographical works containing maps, and Itineraries mainly constructed of maps, graduating into Road-Books almost, or quite, map-less, raises some difficulties of classification, in the direction of to what extent such works should be absorbed into cartographical literature.

III

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE MAPS OF THE GREAT LEVEL OF THE FENS, 1604-1900

THE following Catalogue deals only with the general maps of the Fen district, omitting the many maps and plans of particular drainage areas, which have, necessarily, only a local interest. The general survey of the Great Level seems to have been first made by William Hayward in 1604, but his map was, apparently, not engraved. The first engraved map is that published by Henricus Hondius in one of his editions of Mercator's atlas in 1633, the map itself being dated in the preceding year. The plate was used in subsequent editions of the same atlas, and later, in the numerous atlases of Jan Jansson, and, finally, by Valk and Schenk in an atlas published about 1683. Jan Blaeu appears to have copied this map for his series of atlases, as his map resembles that of Hondius very closely indeed, both as to size, details, and design. In 1642 Sir Cornelius Vermuiden published a small sketch plan of the Fens, which he had presented to Charles I in January, 1638, with his 'Discourse touching the Drayning the Great Fennes'.¹ The 'Discourse' was ordered to be printed by the "Committee for the Great Levell" in February, 1641, but was

¹ The order of the Committee for the Great Level for the printing of Vermuiden's 'Discourse', together with the 'Designe' (25th of February, 1641), sets out that it is for general information, and that others "may make their exceptions against it, and likewise may offer any other designe". In consequence, apparently, of this invitation, we find in the following year Andrewes Burrell, gent., violently attacking Vermuiden and his scheme, particularly in a pamphlet entitled 'Exceptions Against Sir Cornelius Vir-mudens Discourse For the Draining Of the great Fennes, etc. Which In January 1638 he presented to the King for his Designe. Wherein His Majesty was mis-informed and abused, in regard it wanteth all the essentiall parts of a Designe. And the great and advantagious workes made by the late Earle of Bedford, slighted; and the whole Adventure disparaged.'

Burrell does not publish any map. The attacks on Vermuiden by Burrell and others seem to have been the more bitter on account of Vermuiden being a foreigner.

not actually published till the following year, as appears by the date on the title-page. Two small maps (one showing the fens as they lay drowned, and the other with the drainage works) illustrate Sir William Dugdale's 'History of Imbanking', the first edition of which appeared in 1662. Colonel William Dodson, who published a small quarto pamphlet in 1665, under the title 'The Designe for the perfect Draining of the Great Level of the Fens', issued with it a small map. These maps were, it seems probable, all founded more or less on the work of Hayward. His survey and report are referred to in the works of Dugdale (1662 and 1772), and in those of Badeslade ('The History of the Ancient and Present State of the Navigation of the Port of King's-Lyn, and of Cambridge, and the rest of the Trading-Towns in those Parts: And of the Navigable Rivers that have their Course through the Great-level of the Fens, called Bedford Level,' London, 1725 and 1766, fol.), and the latter author gives a map which bears the statement "Copied by T. Badeslade, 1724. Survey'd by W^m. Hayward A.D. 1604". Both Dugdale and Badeslade set out a certificate showing in detail the "number of Acres in the Fens described in the general Plot, lying without the Fen-dikes, as it was delivered by William Hayward Gent. Surveyor, upon his Oath, at Wisbeche, 13 July 1605".

A second period of Fen cartography is marked by the great survey and map of Sir Jonas Moore¹, issued with his 'History or narrative of the great level of the fens, called Bedford level', in 1685, the map itself having appeared in the previous year. This map is an elaborate work in 16 sheets, and measures 6 feet 4 inches in width by 4 feet 7 inches in height,

¹ "Sir Jonas Moore was an eminent mathematician, appointed by Charles I, 1647, to teach the Duke of York arithmetic, geography, etc. till his escape from St. James's 1648. By the recommendation of Col. Giles Strangeways, prisoner in the Tower, to other eminent fellow prisoners, he was appointed chief surveyor of the draining the great level of the fens; sent to Tangier 1663; at his return appointed Surveyor of the Ordnance, and knighted by Charles II. He was chosen fellow of the Royal Society 1674, and was a great patron of Flamsteed, for whom he obtained the place of royal astronomer, with a salary of 100*l.* per ann. He died 1681." ('British Topography', by Richard Gough, London, 1780, 4to, vol. i, p. 197, note.)

giving the whole drainage system as it then existed in great detail. There was issued with it a smaller scale, or index map, showing the fen area and the Wash, in two sheets. Thereafter all the maps of the Fens published up to modern times (and there are but few) are based upon, or copied from Moore. Those of Badeslade, already referred to, are the most interesting and artistic. In all there seem to be but 17 original maps of the Great Level between 1633 (Hondius) and 1793 (Elstobb). A third period includes 8 modern maps published in the nineteenth century, only one of which appears to present any interest. It is that published by Wells to illustrate his 'History of the Drainage of the Great Level', and is certainly a fine piece of cartographic work, both in detail and in general effect, fully supporting the reputation of the Carys, acquired through their long series of maps of every variety, and their road-books and itineraries. Wells, in his preface (at p. ix), says of this map: "As an indispensable accompaniment to the work, the Author has published a Map of the Bedford Level and the adjacent country. Its beauty and accuracy reflect the greatest credit upon those who were intrusted with its execution. As a specimen of that class of engraving it is almost unequalled. There is no other Map extant which comprehends at one view the whole of the Bedford Level, the contiguous districts, and their modern alterations and improvements" [12th April, 1830].

The twenty-five maps are more particularly described below in chronological order.

1604. Hayward, William.

There is now hanging in the Fen Office a copy of Hayward's map described as "exact", by Payler Smyth¹, dated 1727. This is a manuscript map, measuring 4 ft. 4 in. wide by 3 ft. 2½ in. in height, and on a scale of 1 inch to the mile. It has a plain-ruled border, and gives an outline of the water-ways

¹ Smyth's name appears, with those of Warburton and Joseph Bland, on John Warburton's large map of Middlesex, Essex and Herts. of about 1745, which is enriched in the margin with no less than 729 coats of arms of the gentry of the three counties. See 'Hertfordshire Maps' at p. 50 *et seq.*

and banks. The boundary of the fen area is distinctly shown, but not the coastline of the Wash. It is coloured, and does not show so much detail as Badeslade's copy, from which also it differs throughout in the design and particulars. The title of this map, drawn in the left-hand bottom corner, in an oval, ornamented frame, runs :

“An Exact Copy | Of A PLAN of the FENNS | as it was taken Anno 1604 | By William Hayward | Carefully Copy'd from ye Originall | By Mr Payler Smyth | Anno Dom. 1727.”

On the left-hand side of the map, just above the town of Cambridge, is a compass-indicator of the cardinal points, with the north set to the right-hand. There is also the following long descriptive title in the left-hand top corner of the map, in an ornamental, rectangular frame :

“A Generall Platte and Discription of the Fennes and other Grounds | within ye Isle of Ely and in the Counties of Lincolne Northampton Hunington and Marsh | Between the Sea Banks on the North, the River of Welland and the high Grounds of Northamp- | -ton and Huntington Sheire on the West, the Highland of the said Hampsh and the River | of Ouse on the South and the said River of Ouse on the East. The Hards or High | Grounds Lying within the said Fennes are Compassed about and Shadow^d | with Popingue Greene for the readie distinguishing of them from the Fennes. The Sea Banks Fenne Banks and the Banks between which | the Waters have Passage to the Sea are Couloured Redde Other Banks | Serving for more Particular Uses, as also the Hard Dikes in March Land | are Coloredd with a Light Greene. The Meares Rivers and Principall | Rivers within the Said Limits, are Colored Blew ; and the Highwayes | and Cawsays Yeallow. The Distances of Places for Breath and | Lenght are Answearable to Scalle of Milles Furlongs and | Perches in this Platte Set downe | Compassed by Mr. Wm. Hayward Anno 1604.”

At the bottom, towards the right-hand side, is an elaborate and fully coloured coat of arms, with many quarterings, and, in the right-hand corner, a pair of open compasses standing on a scale of 6 miles, 48 furlongs, and 1920 perches, with, below, the legend : “Scale of Milles Furlongs and Perches

An^o 1618, at 16 Feet Demie to y^e Perch." The map is fairly well preserved. The bounds of the Great Level were limited by an Act of Parliament of 1649, confirmed by an Act of 15 Car. 2. Hayward gave the true contents or number of Acres in the Fens, on July 13th, 1605, as 307,242 (Badeslade, pp. 119, 120); but in 1635 he made another survey, of which the certificate¹ is set out in Wells's 'History of the Drainage of the Great Level of the Fens, called Bedford Level' (2 vols., London, 1830-28, 8vo), showing 312,668 a. 1 r. 30 p. Wells does not refer to any survey of 1604, and calls the later one "Hayward's original survey of the Fens".

1633. Hondius, Henricus. $21\frac{7}{8} \times 16\frac{1}{8}$. Scale, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 inch. [Engraved and dated 1632.]

A general map of the fen area, set north to the right hand, and extending south to Cambridge, north to Boston and Hunstanton, east to Brandon, and west to Peterborough. It shows the towns and villages, and a few parks and beacons, with the principal roads, and the rivers, meres and dykes, and has the fen area shaded. "The Salte M...ars" (*sic*), and "The Sea sands or Washes", also shaded, form a special tract along the shore of the Wash itself.

The border of the map is a plain-ruled line. In the right-hand top corner is a shield of the Royal Arms of England, with a crown above it, and on the right side of the map (in the Wash) is a circular indicator of the north, between two sketches of ships in full sail. In the right-hand bottom corner a large, rectangular panel, with the margin ornamented with agricultural implements and fruit, contains a long Latin dedication to the Duke of Bedford and the other Adventurers by "Henricus Hondius", and on the left-hand side of the map the title, as follows, is engraved in an oval, scrolled panel:—"A general Plott and description of the Fennes and surrounded (*sic*) grounds in the sixe Counties of Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridge, with in the Isle of Ely, Huntington, Northampton and Lincolne etc." Below, in the left-hand

¹ This certificate, dated June 14th, 1636, is preserved in the Fen Office, with Hayward's signature (among others) upon it.

bottom corner, is another rectangular panel, supported by a design of agricultural implements, containing three scales of miles ("A Scale of Miles"; "*Millaria Gallica communia*"; and "*Milliare Germanicum commune*"). Below these: "*Amstelodami, Sumptibus Henrici Hondii 1632.*"

This map first appears in an edition of 1633 of the atlas of Gerard Mercator issued by Hondius. The earlier editions of Mercator's atlas (1585-95 to 1628) do not contain this map, which appears in several editions dated 1633, and others of 1634, 1636, etc. It is reprinted by Jan Jansson in his series of atlases, 1646 (two issues), 1647, 1649, 1652 (two issues), and 1658, slightly altered—the fen area being more heavily shaded, the star indicators and the ships on either side of it being re-engraved, some additional boundary lines being added in the map, "*Joannis Janssonii*" being substituted for "*Henrici Hondii*", and the date being omitted. A descriptive text is printed on the back in most of the above editions, the title of which, in the Latin version, runs—"Descriptio *Inundatæ Regionis The Fenns appellataæ*".

The same map is used by Gerard Valk and Peter Schenk in their atlas published about 1683, with the imprint—"Sumptibus G. Valk et P. Schenk". It is undated. The only other alteration on this map is that the chief towns are re-engraved.

1642. **Vermuiden, Sir Cornelius.** $14\frac{3}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{16}$. Scale, about 4 miles = 1 inch. Engraved by Thomas Cross.

This is an outline plan, or map, set with the north to the right hand, in a single-line border. It extends from Cambridge in the south to Boston in the north, and includes on the west Peterborough and on the east Brandon. The fen area is shaded, "The salt marshes or the Washes" being more heavily shaded than the fen proper. On the high land is a regular pattern of isolated trees. The rivers and drains (including the "Bedford River") are shown as the principal feature of the map. In the top right-hand corner are the Royal Arms in a shield with a heavy crown above them, and on the right-hand side an indicator of the points of the compass. In the right bottom corner: "Tho: Cross sculp: 1642", and in the left

bottom corner: "Printed for Tho: Faucit: 1642." The map has no title. It illustrates a 32 pp. 8vo pamphlet, which has the following title: 'A Discourse touching the Drayning the Great Fennes, lying Within the severall Counties of Lincolne, Northampton, Huntington, Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridge, and the Isle of Ely, as it was presented to his Majestie. By Sir Cornelius Vermuiden Knight. Whereunto is annexed the Designe or Map. Published by Authority.' The imprint is: "London. Printed by Thomas Fawcet, dwelling in Grub-street neere the lower Pumpe, 1642."

1648. Blaeu, Joannes. $21\frac{7}{16} \times 17\frac{1}{8}$. Scale, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 inch.

A similar map to that of Hondius (1633), from which it was, no doubt, very carefully copied. The fen area is very heavily shaded, as in Jansson's reprint from Hondius's plate. The two maps differ slightly in dimensions, and in the style of the engraving and writing throughout. In particular, Blaeu's map is distinguishable from that of Hondius and Jansson in the following details:—the title, set in the right-hand bottom corner, in a rectangular panel, supported by designs of agricultural and horticultural tools and fruits, replaces the larger panel and its contents as found in the earlier map, and runs: "*Regiones Inundatae In finibus Comitatus Norfolciae, Suffolciae, Cantabrigiae, Huntingtoniae, Northamptoniae, et Lincolniae*"; a blank ornamental panel is placed on the left side of the map where in Hondius's map a similar, but differently designed panel contains the title of the map; in the left-hand bottom corner is a small rectangular and ornamental panel, differing again from that of Hondius's map, but containing the same three scales of miles as the latter; some of the names of counties are written in Latin (e.g. *Suffolciae Pars*), others (as in Hondius's map) being in English, and in lieu of the designs in the Wash, is written "*Ocea-nus Germani-cus; The German Ocean*".

This map is first found in Blaeu's atlas (*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum sive Atlas Novus*) of 1648 (in the fourth part, which bears this date), and in the subsequent issues of the

atlas (1649, 1662, 1662, 1663, 1664? and 1667) immediately after the map of Cambridgeshire.¹ There is a text descriptive of part of Norfolk on the back.

1662. Dugdale, Sir William. About $15\frac{1}{2} \times 13$. Scale, about 3 miles = 1 inch. Engraved by Wenceslaus Hollar.

A sketch map of the fen district, arranged with Cambridge at the top and Wisbech at the bottom of the map, and extending on the right and left respectively to Stilton in Hunts, and Brandon in Suffolk. It has no border, and is numbered "375" in the left-hand bottom corner. The title, as follows: "A Mapp of the Great Levell, Representing it as it lay Drowned," is engraved at the top of the map, nearly in the middle, in a panel with border. In this map the drowned lands are shaded.

1662. Dugdale, Sir William. $14\frac{7}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$. Scale, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 inch. Engraved by Wenceslaus Hollar.

Another outline map of much the same area, but in a double-ruled border, with miles marked. It shows the drains and watercourses, and a few towns and villages, and is numbered "416" in the left-hand bottom corner. It differs from the last-mentioned map in having the north at the top of the map, and showing to the south the country as far as a line drawn just below St. Ives and Waterbeach only. The title, placed in the left-hand top corner, in a rectangular panel, is: "The Map of the Great Levell Drayned."

These two maps are from Dugdale's 'History of imbanking and drayning of divers fens and marshes, both in foreign parts and in this Kingdom; and of the improvements thereby', London, 1662, fol. This work was reprinted ("The Second Edition, Revised and Corrected"), with the maps engraved from the original plates, in 1772, by Chas. Nalson Cole, London, 1772, fol.

¹ For full particulars of Blaeu's atlases, as well as those of Jansson, see my Catalogue of Hertfordshire Maps, at pp. 22 to 25, etc., and the *Bibliothèque curieuse* of David Clément, published in 1750-60.

1665. **Dodson, Colonel William.** $10\frac{5}{8} \times 8\frac{7}{16}$. Scale, 5 miles = 1 inch. Engraved by Thomas Cross.

An outline map of the same area and in the same position as that of Vermuiden, but showing many more places and giving generally more detail than Vermuiden does. In the right-hand top corner are the Royal Arms with supporters; on the right-hand side of the map a circular indicator of the points of the compass with the N. to the right, and in the bottom right-hand corner, in a panel slightly ornamented with scrolls: "A Mappe Of the Great Levell of the Fenns called Bedford Levell. The pricked Lines represent the New Rivers to be made in and about the Great Levell. By William Dodson Gent;" In the left-hand bottom corner is a coarsely drawn scale of 10 miles, with an open pair of compasses standing upon it, and "The Scale of Miles". Below: "T: Cross Sculpsit."

This map is from a small 4to pamphlet of 40 pp. preceded by 6 pp. of title, dedication and address to the reader, and with the above-described map to fold. The title is: 'The Designe For the perfect Draining of the Great Level of the Fens, (called Bedford Level) Lying in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingtonshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, and the Isle of Ely. As it was delivered to the Honourable Corporation for the Draining of the said Great Level, the 4th of June, 1664. . . . By Collonel William Dodson,' London, small 4to, 1665.

1684¹. **Moore, Sir Jonas.** 6 feet 4 inches \times 4 feet 7 inches. Scale, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile = 1 inch. (Published in 16 sheets.)

This map, which shows the water-ways in great detail, includes, in the south, Huntingdon, St. Ives, and Milton, in the north Spalding and Wisbech, in the west Crowland and Peterborough, and Brandon in the east. The margin is divided into miles and furlongs. There is a coat of arms with supporters and crest in the bottom left-hand corner, and below it, in a panel, the following title: "A Mapp of y^e Great

¹ The date given for the publication of the map by Gough in his 'British Topography' (1780).

Levell of y^e Fenns extending into y^e Countyes of Northampton, Norfolk, Suffolke, Lyncolne, Cambrdg and Huntington and the Isle of Ely as it is now drained, described by Sr. Jonas Moore Survey^r: gen^{ll}: Printed and Sold by Christop^r. Browne at the Globe near the Westend of St. Pauls Church London." To the left of this panel is a pair of open compasses with a scroll bearing: "A Scale of Miles and Furlongs."

'The history or narrative of the great level of the fenns, called Bedford level, with a large map of the said level, as drained, surveyed, and described by Sir Jonas Moore, Knight, his late Majestie's surveyor-general of his ordnance,' London, 1685, is a small, thin 8vo pamphlet without maps or plans.

1684. Moore, Sir Jonas. $14\frac{1}{6} \times 29\frac{3}{8}$. Scale, about $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles = 1 inch.

A map of the fens with the outfalls and the whole of the Wash, issued in two sheets, with Sir Jonas Moore's great map, to which it appears to have been intended as an index-map. It gives an outline of all the principal details shown on the larger map, with a few groups of trees, and the high-lands shown by hill-shading. The banks and channels in the Wash are also indicated, as well as the buoys marking the principal channels, and the soundings in figures. The margin (as in the principal map) is divided into furlongs and miles from north to south on either side, and from west to east along the top and bottom of the map. The upper sheet is, in some particulars, more coarsely engraved than the lower—the towns and villages being indicated in the former by designs of churches, four or five times as large as those drawn on the latter. The names are also written larger in the upper sheet than in the lower. Three places in the northern part of the lower sheet are, however, drawn on the larger scale. In the centre, so as to be divided equally between the two sheets, is a circular, ornamental compass-design, and lines radiating from it are produced across the whole map. In the left-hand top corner, the title is engraved upon a rectangular panel, representing a stone with pedestal and cornice:—"A Mapp

of the Great Levell of the Fens called Bedford Levell, with the Rivers and Outfalls thereof to the Sea."

This map extends, in the north to Skegness, in the south to Cambridge, in the west to include Peterborough and Spalding, and in the east as far as Newmarket and Brandon.

The coat of arms in the corner of Moore's large map is that granted to the "Governor, Bailiffs, and Commonalty of the Company of Conservators of the Great Level of the Fens, called Bedford Level" (a body which received Letters Patent of incorporation March 13th, 1634) by Sir William Le Neve, Clarencieux, on May 10th, 1636. The original grant, in a very fine state of preservation, is in the Fen Office at Ely. The map does not present any other adventitious features of interest.

From the records of the Bedford Level Corporation it appears that, if this particular map is properly ascribed to the date 1684, which is the date given in Gough's 'British Topography', and which accords with the publication by Moore in the following year of his pamphlet entitled, "The history or narrative of the great level of the fens, called Bedford level, with a large map of the said level, as drained, surveyed, and described by Sir Jonas Moore, Knight," there were earlier surveys and maps by Moore, of which, however, I have been unable, up to the present, to trace the existence of engraved copies.

In a minute of the proceedings of the Conservators, dated April 1st, 1654, it is recorded that leave was given to Mr. Jonas Moore to print and publish his map, and book, etc., which he undertook to complete and present before Michaelmas.

Then, on May 31st, 1677, Sir Jonas Moore is asked to *reprint* his map, of which the faults are to be altered and amended, and there is a note as to the buying "of his old plates". It is thus clear that Moore surveyed and published a map of the Great Level in or about 1654, which has disappeared, and that he issued the map now extant thirty years later in substitution for that of the earlier survey, of which the plates were, presumably, then destroyed. The copy of the map of 1684 hanging in the Fen Office has the date 1663

painted in the title on the woodwork above it; but I do not know to what this date actually refers.

There is, however, also in the Fen Office, a manuscript map measuring 3 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, by 3 ft. in width, and drawn on a scale of $\frac{4}{5}$ ths of an inch to the mile, bearing the date 1654 and the name of Moore. It represents the fen area in outline, with very little detail, showing the coastline of the Wash and German Ocean, but with few drainage works, and is drawn in the same style, and with the same plain border, as are found in Payler Smyth's copy of Hayward's map referred to already. It has the appearance of a copy taken from some imperfect original plan. In the bottom corner, on the right-hand side of the map, in a rectangular plain-ruled panel, the title runs :

“A generall description of the great Levell of y^e Fenns | extending it selfe in the Countyes of Northampton Norfolke | Suffolke Lincolne, Cambridge & Huntington & the Isle of | Ely wth the severall work's described thereupon for draining | thereof. Anno 1654. By Jonas Moore.”

Above this panel is a pair of open compasses standing on a scale of miles, and, to their left, a large, circular indicator of the cardinal points. The border of this map is plain-ruled.

1720. Cox, Thomas. 16 x $11\frac{5}{8}$. Scale, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 inch. Engraved by John Harris.

A map very accurately reduced from that of Sir Jonas Moore, the coat of arms, etc., only being omitted, which occurs in the '*Magna Britannia et Hibernia, Antiqua et Nova*, or, A New Survey of Great Britain', in vol. i, London, 1720, 4to, illustrating the description of Cambridgeshire, the first part of which is devoted to a "History or Narrative of the Great Level of the Fenns, called Bedford Level; as actually surveyed and described by Sir Jonas Moore, with what further Sir William Dugdale has observed; having been at the Charge of doing an exact Map thereof".

The title of the map itself is:—"A Map of the Great Levell of the Fenns Extending into y^e Countyes of Norfolk, Suffolke, Northampton, Lincoln, Cambridge, Huntington and the Isle

of Ely Surveyed by Sr. Jonas Moor, I. Harris Sculp." The scale of miles and furlongs in the border of the original map is reproduced in this reduction.

1725. Badeslade, Thomas.

(1) $12\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$. Scale, 10 miles = 1 inch. Drawn by Thomas Badeslade, and engraved by S. Parker.

A long, narrow outline map, with the top to N.W., in a ruled border, engraved on the same sheet with two other maps. It shows the whole course of the Great Ouse, with its tributaries, a few towns and villages, the Wash, and the sea-coast of Norfolk to beyond Cromer. The fen area is very lightly shaded within its borders. The title runs in one line along the top of the map: "A Survey of the Ouse from its Spring-head in Northamptonshire, to its Influx into the Sea below Lynn being about 160 miles." In the top right-hand corner of the map is a plain indicator of the cardinal points, and in the left-hand bottom corner a scale of 20 miles. Below the map: "T. Badeslade *delin.*" and "S. Parker *Sculp'.*"

(2) $15\frac{1}{8} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$. Scale, 7 miles = 1 inch. Surveyed and drawn by Thomas Badeslade [1723], and engraved by S. Parker.

Another and larger outline map set with the north to the right hand. It shows, in addition to the details in the last-mentioned map, the names and boundaries of the counties, the shoals in the Wash, with their names, and the soundings. It extends northward so as to include Lincoln and the whole course of the Witham, but does not show much of the Norfolk coast.

In a panel in the right-hand top corner: "N.B. This Mapp being made to shew the Natural Courses of the Rivers, y^e New Bedford River and other Works of the Adventurers are omitted" In another panel, in the left-hand bottom corner: "A Mapp of the River of Great Ouse, from its Spring-head to its Influx into the Sea being 160 miles, And of all the Rivers that have their Course thro' the great Level of the Fens called Bedford Level. Surveyed by Tho: Badeslade: A:D: 1723."

To the right of this panel, along the bottom margin of the map, is: "N.B. The Fenns are Shaded to shew their Extent"; in the right-hand bottom corner of the map: "A Scale of (15) Miles," and, above it, a small circular indicator of the north turned to the right. At the bottom, on the left: "T. Badeslade *Delin.*:" and, on the right: "Parker *Sculp.*."

(3) $15\frac{3}{8} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$. Scale, 3 miles = 1 inch [1723].

A map showing the same area as in Hondius's map of the fens, in a plain-ruled border, set north to the right, and giving the towns and villages, rivers (with bridges) and the other water-ways and drains. It also gives the sand-banks in the Wash. In the top right-hand corner, on a design of a cloth pendent from three nails, and with an ornamental fringe along the bottom, the following title:—"A Mapp of the great Level of y^e Fenns called Bedford Level, also, Shewing the Works of y^e Adventurers, and the several Drains made to convey the Waters of the said Level into the Rivers that have their Course thro' the Fenns, and the proper Outfall of those Rivers to Sea. By Tho. Badeslade 1723." Towards the right-hand bottom corner is placed an indicator of the north, and below it "A Scale of (10) Miles". In the left-hand bottom corner, in a rectangular, ruled panel, is the following "Explanation":

"The Fenns are bounded with a Prick'd Line
 The High Land encompassing the Fenns is
 coloured with Green, as is also
 The Hards or High ground in the Fenns
 The Division between the Fenns and Marshland,
 Wisbeach Hundred and Holland, coloured Yellow.
 The Adventure part of the Fenns, as it is pro-
 portioned out of each particular Fenn is co-
 loured Red.
 See the Demands p by wch you'll know
 what part of the Year each Fenn was over-
 flowed."

At the foot of the map, on the left: "T. Badeslade *Delin.*:", and on the right: "S. Parker *Sculp.*."

(4) $15\frac{3}{8} \times 12\frac{3}{8}$. Scale, $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles = 1 inch. A similar plan,

of the same area as the last, except that it goes a little further south of Cambridge, but with much less detail of the water-ways and no sand-banks shown in the Wash. It is in a single-ruled border. An indicator of the points of the compass and a scale of 10 miles are drawn in the right-hand bottom corner of the map, and, in the left top corner, in a panel, the title runs as follows:—"A Plan and Description of the Fenns and other Grounds within the Isle of Ely, and in the Counties of Lincoln, Northamp: Huntington, Cambridge, Suffolk and Norfolk. Bounded by Marshland on the North. The River Welland and y^o high grounds of Northton. W The high grounds of Huntington and Cambr: Sh. S And the high grounds of Suffolk and Norfolk E. Copied by T: Badeslade 1724. Survey'd by W^m. Hayward A.D. 1604." In the left-hand bottom corner, in another panel, is an "Explanation" of the colouring and lettering on the map. At the foot of the map: "T. Badeslade *Delin:*" and "S. Parker *Sculp'.*"

The above four maps are all from 'The History of the Ancient and Present State of the Navigation of the Port of King's-Lyn, and of Cambridge, And the rest of the Trading Towns in those Parts: And of the Navigable Rivers that have their Course, through the Great-level of the Fens, called Bedford Level,' by Thomas Badeslade, which includes "The Method propos'd for draining the said Fens, and amending the Harbour of Lyn:" By Col. John Armstrong, Chief Engineer of England, London, 1725, fol. In a second edition, London, 1766, fol., these maps are repeated, with one additional one, as described below.

Badeslade in his preface, referring to the materials upon which he had based his history, mentions the manuscript of "Mr Richard Atkins of Outwell, who flourished the Beginning of King James I. Reign", and he goes on:—"He was an eminent Commissioner of the Sewers, a Man of great Learning and Experience; and, as Sir William Dugdale says, a notable Observer of the Fens. He was consulted by all the Undertakers of his Time, and was Surveyor of the Works of Sewers. From this Manuscript, which is allow'd in Evidence, is printed great Part of the State of the Fens before the general Under-

taking to drain them commenced, to which his Name is for the most part prefixed. From the Learned Mr Bateson of Magdalen, I had a Manuscript of the same Mr. Atkins, which he presented to Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, Anno 1618. —The Manuscript Proposal of the Lord Gorges,¹ for draining the Fens, and many other valuable Papers relating to the Fens." He also says:—"I am also particularly oblig'd to Nathaniel Green, Esq; of the Corporation of Adventurers, for several Kind Communications, and for the Map of the great Level of the Fens, with the Adventure Lots." Richard, Lord Gorges, who sat in the Long Parliament, was surveyor-general of draining the fens for twenty years, having been appointed to that situation in 1656. He died in the year 1712, in the ninety-fourth year of his age. He purchased the manor of Stetchworth from the Earl of Bedford about the year 1669, and built a large brick mansion, which was pulled down about 1786 by Richard Eaton, who purchased the estate in that year. In 1700 Lord and Lady Gorges founded and endowed an alms-house at Stetchworth.

Badeslade finally sets out, in full, Hayward's certificate of July 13th, 1605, and, in a note at foot, adds: "From this Plat (*sic*) was copied the Plan and Description of the Fens printed in this Work."

1766. **Badeslade, Thomas.** $7\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{6}$. Scale, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 inch.

This map, additional to the four cited above, is an outline plan of the rivers and main cuts of the Great Level, showing also the banks in "the Bay or Estuary" of the Wash, and a few towns and villages. It extends southward to include Huntingdon and St. Ives, westward to Peterborough, north beyond Boston, and beyond Soham on the east. In the top left-hand corner, in a rectangular panel: "A Mapp of the Fenn-Rivers and of the New Cutts propos'd in the following Scheme; for the effectual draining of those Fenns, and restoring Lynn Harbour." In a similar panel in the right-

¹ See as to Lord Gorges, Lyson's 'Cambridgeshire', at p. 257.

hand top corner: "This map is not laid down from a Survey but is drawn to Square with the Authors Report. He complains of the Sands in the Bay, and therefore has made them larger than they really are," and so on, pointing out discrepancies and exaggerations in many cases. Below the map on the right: "S. Parker *Sculp'*."

1779. **Booth, M.** $7\frac{1}{16} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$. Scale, about 7 miles = 1 inch. Engraved by S. Pyle.

A small map of the fens and the Wash, set north to the right hand in a plain-ruled border, and, showing the fen area and the banks in the Wash by shading, the water-ways, bridges, and the towns and villages. Above the top margin: "To the Hon^{ble}: Corporation of the Bedford Level." Below the map, on the left hand: "Drawn by Kinderly, corrected by M J A.;" in the centre: "Publish'd as the Act directs, March 1st, 1779, by M. Booth, Norwich," and, at the right-hand bottom corner: "S. Pyle *sculp'*." Within the top right-hand corner of the map, in a plain panel, the title runs: "A Map of the Great Level of the Fens, together with the Rivers that pass thro' the said Level, into the Bay, call'd Metaris *Æstuarium*." To the left of this panel, along the top border of the map, a "Scale of Miles" (10).

1789. **Cole, Charles Nalson.**¹ $29\frac{9}{16} \times 22$. Scale, 4 miles = 3 inches. Engraved by S. Neele.

A map of the Great Level with very full details, including Huntingdon and Milton in the south, Brandon in the east, and Tydd St. Giles and Stow in the north, and going beyond Peterborough towards the west. The border is divided into miles and furlongs, and a few hills and trees are shown on the map, but no roads. In the right-hand bottom corner is a star-indicator of the points of the compass, and in the left-hand bottom corner the title, as follows: "To the Honorable the Corporation of Bedford Level This Reduced Map of That Level is Inscribed By Charles Nalson Cole Esq^r their Register Executed by their Order under his Direction and

¹ Cole was 'Auditor and Register' of the Bedford Level from 1757 to 1804, and died in December of the latter year.

Inspection." Below the map, on the left-hand side: "Reduced by I. Newton"; on the right: "Engraved by S. Neele," and, in the centre: "London, Published by C. N. C. April 9th, 1789."

1793. **Elstobb, William** (the late). $14\frac{7}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{8}$. Scale, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 inch.

A sketch map, showing the waterways (rivers and drains), with the "washes" between the Old and New Bedford Rivers shaded, and a few towns and villages. It includes the whole area of the fen district, and has a border divided and numbered along the top and bottom, 1 to 38, and on both sides, 1 to 28.

In a rectangular panel in the left-hand bottom corner is the title, as follows: "A Map of the Great Level of the Fens, Extending into the County's (*sic*) Norfolk, Suffolk, Northampton, Lincoln, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and the Isle of Ely."

This map illustrates, with others, 'An Historical Account of the Great Level of the Fens, called Bedford Level, and other Fens, Marshes, and Low Lands in this Kingdom, and other Places,' published by the late William Estobb, Engineer, Lynn, 1793, 8vo.

1827. **Watson, William.**

(1) $9\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{11}{16}$. Scale, about 5 miles = 1 inch. Engraved by John Walker.

An outline-map, in a plain-ruled border, with the north to the right-hand side. It shows the Wash on the north, and the country as far as Huntingdon and Upware to the south. The only details are the waterways, the towns, and a few villages. In the left-hand bottom corner, the title runs: "Maps of the Old Course of the Rivers Ouse and Nene." Below this title is a "Scale of Miles" (10). In the middle of the lower part of the map, to the right of the scale, is the explanation: "A.B. The Cut made to send the Waters of the Great Ouse, into Ouse Parva or Brandon River, by Lynn to Sea." A large arrow-head indicator of the points of the compass is drawn in the right-hand bottom angle of the map, pointing to the right-

hand of the map, with the letters N, E, W and S, and, below the map, in the centre: "Published by H. & J. Leach, Wisbech, 1827," and, on the right: "J. Walker, sc. 1, Spur St. Leic^{tr}. Sq^{re}."

(2) $9\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{5}{8}$. Scale, about $4\frac{3}{4}$ miles = 1 inch. Engraved by John Walker.

A similar map to the above, and showing nearly the same details and area, but differently drawn. The title is engraved in the left-hand bottom corner: "Map of the Level of the Fens, called Bedford Level, as Divided into North, Middle, and South Levels." Below it, a "Scale of (10) Miles", and, towards the right-hand bottom corner, a large arrow-head indicator similar to that in the first map in this series, but without letters. The imprints are identical with those noted as on the map above.

(3) $8\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{5}{8}$. Scale, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 inch. Engraved by John Walker.

Another very similar map, but arranged with the north at the top, and showing the whole area of the Isle of Ely, with its roads, waterways, and towns and villages, with the county and hundred boundaries. In the right-hand top corner are engraved the arms of the see of Ely, in an ornamented shield, with, below: "J^{no}. Walker, sculp^t..... Spur St. Leic^{tr}. Sq." Again below, is the title and dedication: "This Map of the Isle of Ely, Is with great Respect, Inscribed to the Rt. Rev^d. Bowyer Edward, Lord Bishop of Ely, by His obliged obedient humble Servant, W^m. Watson." To the left-hand of the dedication is placed a scale of ten miles, and an arrow-head indicator of the north: in the left-hand top corner an explanation of the characters used on the map, and, in the bottom corner on the same side, a statement of the number of parishes in the Isle, and in each hundred. The publisher's imprint is the same as that in the preceding maps, that of the engraver, below the right-hand bottom corner, is: "J^{no}. Walker sc^r."

The above three maps are found in 'An Historical Account of the Ancient Town and Port of Wisbech', by William Watson, F.A.S., Wisbech, 1827, 8vo.

1829. Wells, Samuel. $31 \times 31\frac{3}{4}$. Scale, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 inch.
Engraved by G. and J. Cary.

A very clearly drawn map of the whole fen area, with some marginal land up to the following boundaries:—on the north, the Wash and the New South Holland Drain; on the west, the main road from Cambridge to Huntingdon, and continued to Stilton and Peterborough, then following the road towards Croyland for some distance and the fenland boundary more to the west beyond; on the south, including a small area at Madingley down to the Cambridge and St. Neots Road, and from Cambridge to Moulten End on the Cambridge and Bury Road; on the east, from Moulten End to a point a little to the north on the road to Mildenhall, and thence following that road to Mildenhall, and the road generally from Mildenhall to Brandon, Mundford, Stoke Ferry, Downham Market, and King's Lynn, going a little beyond the road to a watercourse between Mundford and Downham.

The map is coloured brightly to show the various drainage areas, and gives very full details of the drains and allotments, with their names and numbers, as well as the rivers, meres, roads, hills (by shading), villages, hamlets, houses, farms, parks, and windmills—all shown up to the area set out above only. It is framed in a single-line border, and has, in the top right-hand corner: “To the most Noble The Governor, The Bailiffs, And Conservators of The Great Level of the Fens Called Bedford Level, This Map of the said Great Level and parts adjacent Is most gratefully dedicated By Samuel Wells. Register. Fen Office, 27 March 1829,” with, below: “London. Published for the Proprietor, by G. and I. Cary, 86, St. James's Street, 1829.” There is also, in the left-hand top corner of the map, an “Explanation” of the colouring used on it to distinguish different areas and varieties of land, and, in the bottom corner on the same side, a large and ornamental engraving of the Arms of the Corporation, with supporters, and the motto: “*Arridet Aridum*”; in the centre, at the bottom of the map, a “Scale of Statute Miles” (10), and, in the right-hand bottom corner, a large star-indicator of the points of the compass.

Issued with 'The History of the Drainage of the Great Level of the Fens, called Bedford Level'. By Samuel Wells, Register of the Corporation. London, 2 vols., 1830-28, 8vo.

There is another edition of this map of the Great Level of the Fens of the original date. In this impression the dedication is omitted, and the title runs: "The Great Level of the Fens Called Bedford Level, By Samuel Wells, Register. London. Published for the Proprietor, by G. and J. Cary 86 St. James's Street. March 27th 1829." The four lower lines in the particulars under the heading: "Explanation" are also omitted. The only copy of this issue I have seen is one in the Library of the British Museum.

A further reprint, dated 1878, exists in the University Library, Cambridge. The title is as above, but, after the word "Register" it now reads: "Published with alterations and additions by His Son Hardy Wells, C. E. 85, Gracechurch Street, London, 1878". To the table headed "Explanation", as reduced by the erasures already mentioned, a fourth line, "Railroads", is added, and, in the right-hand bottom corner is written: "Marchant, Singer & Co. Printers 1 & 2, Ingram Court, Fenchurch St., London E.C.". This map is brightly coloured, and has the same appearance as the original impressions, with the railways added on the plate. I have not examined it closely for alterations in the details.

1849. Walker, Neil, and Thomas Craddock. $7\frac{7}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$. Scale, 5 miles = 1 inch.

An outline-map of the Fen district, including the shore of the Wash, and Spalding, Holbeach, and Long Sutton in the north, in a plain-ruled border, and showing the railways, rivers and drains, meres, and a few towns and villages. In the right-hand top corner is an arrow-head indicator of the north, and, in the left-hand bottom corner: "Fens of the Bedford Level and Lincolnshire", and, lower down, a "Scale of (15) Miles". There is an imprint below the map, in the centre: "Published by R. Walker, Bridge Foot".

From 'The History of Wisbech, and the Fens'. By Neil Walker and Thomas Craddock, Wisbech, 1849, 8vo.

1876. Heathcote, John Moyer.

(1) 6×5 . About one-fifth scale of original.

A small photographic reproduction of Badeslade's map of the Great Level of 1723, described *ante*, p. 74, with the original title, explanation, scale of miles and imprints omitted, but otherwise exact to the margin. It has a single-line border, and has no title or scale, the only ornament being the circular indicator of the north, with large arrow-head turned to the right, in the right-hand bottom corner, remaining from the original design. Within the map, in the right-hand bottom corner, is: "Sawyers Collotype, S.S.B. & C^o."; below it, on the left-hand: "Autotype, London", and, in the centre: "Map of Fens, 1723".

(2) $5\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Scale of original map, 1 mile = 1 inch.

A photographic map of the Fens of 1875, apparently taken from a large manuscript plan. It shows the railways, and details, especially of the whole Middle Level, very fully, with the towns and some villages over the surrounding Fen districts. Near the top, in the centre: "Plan of Middle Level. 1875". Near the bottom of the map, placed rather to the right-hand: "Scale 1 inch to a Statute Mile", being the scale of the original map. Below the map, on the left: "Autotype, London", and, in the centre: "Map of Fens, 1875".

These two maps were published to illustrate 'Reminiscences of Fen and Mere', by J. M. Heathcote, London, 1876, 8vo.

1878. Miller, Samuel H., and Sydney B. J. Skertchly.

 $13\frac{3}{8} \times 18\frac{7}{16}$. Scale, 4 miles = 1 inch.

A map with all the details of the Ordnance Survey map of the same scale (as reduced from the map on the scale of one inch to the mile), extending north as far as Lincoln, west to include Lincoln and Thrapston, south to Cambridge, and east to Swaffham and Bury St. Edmunds, in a plain, double-ruled border. The boundaries of the fen area are specially coloured, and arrows are inserted to show the direction of the flow of water in the rivers and drains. In the right-hand top corner: "The Fenland" in large, shaded capitals, and, below, an explanation of the colours and arrow-signs used on the map,

and, again below, a "Scale of (8) Miles". Below the right-hand bottom corner is: "J. Bartholomew, Edin".

From 'The Fenland Past and Present', by Samuel H. Miller and Sydney B. J. Skertchly, Wisbech and London, 1878, 8vo.

MAPS OF THE FENS (1604-1900). INDEX LIST

DATE.	NAME.	DIMENSIONS.	DATES OF REPRINTS.
1604	Hayward, William		
1633	Hondius, Henricus	21 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 16 $\frac{1}{8}$	1646, 1646, 1647, 1649, 1652, 1652, 1658, 1683 (c.)
1642	Vermuiden, Sir Cornelius	14 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{3}{6}$	
1648	Blaeu, Joannes	21 $\frac{7}{16}$ x 17 $\frac{1}{8}$	1649, 1662, 1662, 1663, 1664 (?), 1667
1662	Dugdale, Sir William about	15 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13	1772
1662	Dugdale, Sir William	14 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	1772
1665	Dodson, Colonel William	10 $\frac{9}{16}$ x 8 $\frac{7}{16}$	
1684	Moore, Sir Jonas	6' $\frac{7}{4}$ x 4'7"	
1684	Moore, Sir Jonas	14 $\frac{11}{16}$ x 29 $\frac{3}{8}$	
1720	Cox, Thomas	16 x 11 $\frac{5}{8}$	
1725	Badeslade, Thomas	12 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1766
1725	Badeslade, Thomas	15 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{4}$	1766
1725	Badeslade, Thomas	15 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	1766
1725	Badeslade, Thomas	15 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{4}$	1766
1766	Badeslade, Thomas	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{16}$	
1779	Booth, M.	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{8}$	
1789	Cole, Charles Nalson	29 $\frac{9}{16}$ x 22	
1793	Elstobb, William	14 $\frac{7}{16}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{8}$	
1827	Watson, William	9 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{11}{16}$	
1827	Watson, William	9 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{5}{8}$	
1827	Watson, William	8 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{3}{8}$	
1829	Wells, Samuel	31 x 31 $\frac{3}{4}$	1829, 1878
1849	Walker, Neil, and Thomas Craddock	7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1876	Heathcote, John Moyer	6 x 5	
1876	Heathcote, John Moyer	5 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1878	Miller, Samuel H., and Sydney B. J. Skertchly	13 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 18 $\frac{7}{16}$	

IV

JOHN CARY, ENGRAVER, MAP-SELLER, AND GLOBE-MAKER

THE publications of John Cary mark so decided an advance in the art of cartography in England, cover such a long period of time, and are so numerous and important, that they seem well worthy of study and record.

It is singular that no information should be available as to Cary himself.

His only public reward was the Gold Medal presented to him by the Society of Arts for his large-scale map of the County of Cardigan, in 1804, and, perhaps, the only recorded public mention of his position in the publishing world is that of his counsel in opening the case for Mr. Cary, the plaintiff, in an action in the Court of King's Bench, February 20th, 1800—Cary *versus* Longman and another—for an infringement of the copyright in 'Cary's New Itinerary', who stated that the plaintiff was an Engraver and Mapseller in the Strand, and carried on a very extensive business.

He had three successive addresses in London, from which his maps and topographical publications are dated. From 1783 to 1790, the earliest of his addresses was 188 Strand—Corner of Arundel Street. Then, from 1792 to 1820,¹ he was at 181 Strand. From 1820 to as late as 1850, the address is 86 St. James's Street—Near the Palace, and from August 1821 publications appear under the firm-name of G. and J. Cary, though that of John alone is continued for some time on others.

But John Cary was engraving maps and plans earlier than 1783. I have found a canal plan in the British Museum

¹ The houses numbered 181 and 182 Strand, occupied respectively by the brothers John and William Cary, were completely destroyed by fire on Monday, January 17th, 1820. ('Gentleman's Magazine' for January 1820.)

Library, signed by Cary, of a date as early as 1769, and in the same volume with this particular plan are others bearing his signature, but undated, which may very well be earlier still. It is impossible, of course, to say, on the facts at present known to us, whether Cary was himself alive in the period, or the whole of the period, during which publications appeared as by the partnership G. and J. Cary, but it seems improbable that, having engraved maps in 1769, he would be still living eighty-one years later, in 1850, although it is, of course, just possible.¹ That his name is associated with a vast mass of cartographic material issued between the years 1769 and 1836 is the only fact upon which we have documentary evidence.

Nor have I any better information as to the George Cary whose name appears on the publications issued under the name of Cary between 1821 and 1850. Another Cary—Francis—engraved a large number of the plates in Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1789 and 1805, London, 4 vols., fol.), his name occurring on many plates in each of the four volumes of this work, and others, unsigned, being similar in style and art to those bearing his signature. For the same work John Cary engraved the series of county and other maps. Nichols, in his 'Literary Anecdotes of the 18th Century' (vol. vi, at p. 621), says that Gough began his translation of the *Britannia* in 1770, that he agreed with J. and F. Cary for the engravings, that the first volume was finished in 1782, and the bulk of the maps executed by 1785. There seems nothing to help us as to the relationship, and the trade connexions between John and Francis Cary, and I am not aware of any other work of the latter than that contributed to Gough's well-known publication. There is no mention of the Carys in Strutt's 'Biographical Dictionary of Engravers' (London, 1785, 2 vols., 4to), but that work, though purporting

¹ The name of "John Cary, Junr." appears, as author, on a large map of the Russian Dominions in Europe published by J. Cary, May 1, 1814. I have not seen this name on any other of Cary's maps or publications.

William Cary, who was born in 1759 and died in 1825, aged 66 years, and had considerable reputation as an astronomical-instrument maker, was connected in business with his brother John in the manufacture of globes.

to enumerate all engravers "to the present time", appears to reach to 1770 only.¹

Prior to Cary's exact and artistic delineation of map-surface, the maps of Bowen, Kitchin, with those of Jefferys, Rocque, and other imitators of that type, presented an appearance, style, and geographic accuracy in their publications of a very inferior quality. It is not too much to say that Cary introduced a character and method of delineation which has dominated our cartographers from the end of the eighteenth century to the present time. A comparison of 'Cary's New Map of England and Wales, with part of Scotland', in 81 sheets, drawn on a scale of 5 miles to the inch, and on the meridian of Greenwich, and published in 1794, with the numerous maps of the counties of England and Wales issued in the nineteenth century by private publishers, as well as with the cartography of the Ordnance Survey itself, will go far to substantiate this view. Apart from other qualities, Cary's map-drawing is marked by a particular delicacy and clearness, and has always the brilliancy which can be developed by the skilful hand upon copper-plate. In the smallest of his maps and his road-books this characteristic is specially noticeable.

His work may be divided into three sections:—i, Maps and Atlases; ii, Topographical publications—Itineraries, and Road-Books, and iii, Indexes, and Tables of various sorts.

Of the maps and atlases, the three sets of maps of the English and Welsh Counties, all of which went through many editions, are the best known. Of these sets the smallest is the 'Traveller's Companion', a small octavo atlas, used, in the later editions, as a companion to the 'New Itinerary'. It contains 43 maps, and editions were published from the first, of 1790, to as late as 1828. The second of these collections of county maps in order of size is the 'New and Correct

¹ Aaron Arrowsmith (1750–1823), who seems to be better known to geographers generally than Cary, was associated with Cary at one stage of his career. According to the 'Dictionary of National Biography' (vol. ii, at p. 123), he first found employment with John Cary, for whose county maps he made all the pedometer measurements and drawings. In 1790 Arrowsmith had set up for himself in Castle Street, Long Acre.

English Atlas', first published in 1787, and republished in various editions up to 1831. It is a large quarto volume, and contains 46 maps in all. Finally, in 1809, appeared the 'New English Atlas', made up of 41 maps in imperial folio size, many of which were issued as early as 1801, the whole being collected in 1809 into an atlas,¹ which was many times reprinted up to at least as late as 1834, and of which, in 1819, 1820, 1821, and 1824 the maps were used for setting out the geological discoveries of William Smith, anticipating the publications of the Geological Survey by a good many years.

The plates of these three sets of maps still exist, and the county maps of the folio atlas give so good an outline of the roads, and are so clear and satisfactory in their details, that they are, even now, though more than a century old, being printed and published for the use of motorists, the dates and other indications of their seventeenth- and eighteenth-century origin having, of course, long ago disappeared.

Another important collection of maps which came from Cary's press was the 'New Universal Atlas'. It was a general atlas of 55 maps (in 60 sheets) in imperial folio size, the first edition appearing in 1808, reprinted in 1811, and a second of 56 maps in 1819. Further impressions of 1824 and 1828 are known. The engraving of these maps commenced some ten years earlier than the publication of the atlas; the maps being issued as engraved in twenty parts of three maps each; the 60 sheets are respectively dated as follows: 19 in 1799; 19 in 1801; 1 in 1803; 3 in 1804; 3 in 1805; 9 in 1806; and 6 in 1807. All these maps are drawn on the meridian of Greenwich, a meridian adopted for the first time, in substitution for that of St. Paul's, London, by Cary in his map of 1794 of England and Wales, and they form together the most important of Cary's geographical publications.

According to an advertisement at the end of a copy in my

¹ The Index Locorum to this atlas has a certain statistical value, as it gives for each city, town, parish and other place chargeable with poor rates throughout England and Wales, not only the names of the county and hundred in which it lay, but also the "Amount of the whole Expenditure on Account of the Poor, for 1803", together with the number of houses and the population. It runs to 40 large folio pages.

collection of the edition of the 'New Itinerary' of 1810, Cary was then publishing, under the same title ('New Universal Atlas'), a reduction in "imperial quarto size" of this atlas, of which thirteen parts, of three maps each, are enumerated as "complete and ready for Delivery". Curiously enough, this publication seems to have almost entirely disappeared. At all events, I have never come across a copy of the complete atlas, and only know two stray maps from the series.

In addition to these atlases, Cary published, from 1787, a whole series of maps of London, Westminster, and Southwark, which show, step by step, the growth of this great area of population between 1787 and 1828; the following editions are known to me: 1787, 1792, 1797, 1799, 1808, 1810, 1815, 1818, 1819, 1820, 1824, 1825, and 1828, and there are, no doubt, others of intermediate dates.

In 1783 the earliest, apparently, of Cary's maps of the neighbourhood of the Metropolis appeared, under the title 'A New and Accurate Topographical Survey of the Environs of London'. It covered a radius of twenty miles from London, and was drawn on the meridian of St. Paul's Cathedral. In the same year was published a map of 'The British Channel, including the Coasts of England and France'; in 1786 a map of the country within ten miles of Hampton Court and Richmond, and in that year also one of the 'Country Fifteen Miles round London', in 50 small sheets, with an index, which passed through several editions, and is found both in book-form and as a one-sheet map, folded. In 1789 John Cary's maps of the counties of England and Wales, and others, illustrating Gough's *Britannia*, appeared in the first edition of that work, and they were reprinted in the edition of 1806. Cary issued in 1790 a 'New Pocket Plan of London, Westminster and Southwark', of which there was a regular reissue year by year, apparently, up to as late as 1828; in 1793 'A Map of the Seat of War in the North of France', and, in 1794, his great map of 'England and Wales, with part of Scotland', in 81 sheets, already referred to, of which a second edition appeared in 1816, with a reprint of this edition in 1832.

In the following year is dated a set of plans of the navigable

canals of Great Britain, under the title 'Inland Navigation', in which publication, although the title-page is of 1795, the sixteen plans bear various dates from November 1st, 1795, to May 2nd, 1808.

A reduction of the large map of England and Wales and part of Scotland, on a scale of 15 miles to the inch, was published in 1796, and this was many times reprinted up to as late as 1834.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, besides the atlases already described, Cary published, in 1812, a 'Map of the present Seat of War in the North of Europe'; in 1813, 'A Sketch of the Russian Campaign of 1812'; in 1814 a large map of Russia; in 1815, a 'New Map of the British Isles, exhibiting the whole of the Turnpike Roads', in six sheets, and, in 1817-19, 'Cary's Geological Sections, by Wm. Smith and R. Thomas', followed by the series of the large county maps geologically coloured, which are dated from 1819 to 1824. A six-sheet map of England and Wales appeared also in 1818, and was republished in 1823 and 1840, and a 'New Map of Ireland' in 1824, showing the roads, rivers, canals, etc.

In 1828, published by A. Watford, Cambridge, drawn by J. Richardson, and engraved by G. and J. Cary, was issued 'A New and Accurate Map of the Country for Twenty-five Miles round the University of Cambridge'. It is on a scale of 3 miles to the inch, and is a circular map, about 17 miles in diameter. It is dedicated "To the Vice Chancellor and the Heads of the Colleges in the University of Cambridge, and to the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, resident within its Limits". In the following year, to illustrate the well-known book of Samuel Wells on the Fens, the Carys engraved the map already described in my Catalogue of the Maps of the Great Level of the Fens (*ante*, p. 80); in 1829 'A New Plan of London and its Vicinity', followed by 'A New and Accurate Map of the Country twelve miles round London' in 1831, and, finally, an edition of the 'New Plan of London', dated 1844, apparently the latest of all the maps on which Cary's name appears.

It still remains, however, to note 'Cary's Improved Map of

England and Wales, with a Considerable Portion of Scotland, Planned upon a Scale of Two Statute Miles to One Inch. Drawn from the most Authentic Surveys and Parliamentary Documents', which was published in 1832. This map is in 65 large sheets, and may be regarded as the final effort of the map-production of the Carys, as it is, certainly, the most elaborate example of their engraved cartography.

To be exhaustive in this department I should be obliged to catalogue, in addition to what I have noted above, a considerable number of individual plans and maps bearing Cary's signature, but to do so would carry the present sketch too far.

Although, as already appears, John Cary's work as a cartographer was remarkable in quantity, as it was also in its technical skill, he is more commonly known to fame, so far as he is so known, as the author and publisher of 'Cary's New Itinerary', a road-book, which, in rivalry with 'Paterson's Roads',¹ ran through no fewer than eleven editions between 1798 and 1828. Copies are still common. An abridgement appeared in 1803 under the title, 'Cary's British Traveller'.

In addition to these general itineraries, Cary published, in 1784, a survey of the great post-roads between London and Falmouth, and, in 1790, one of the high roads from London to Hampton Court, Bagshot, and a number of other places in the vicinity of London, consisting of a series of delicately engraved and coloured road-strips, showing details of the roads and the adjacent country. They are amongst the most charming of his engravings.

His miscellaneous publications include the index of places issued with the large map of England and Wales of 1794, but also printed separately under the title, 'A New Index Villaris for England and Wales . . .', in 1804, and containing 21,816 names; the index to the large county atlas, and those to both the smaller ones; a 'Guide for Hackney Coach Fares and Porterage Rates' (1801); 'The Names and Situations of the

¹ 'A New and Accurate Description of all the Direct and Principal Cross Roads in Great Britain,' by Daniel Paterson, Esq., Assistant Quarter-Master-General, London, small 8vo. This publication first appeared in 1771, and, in one³ form or other, passed through eighteen and some extra editions, the last in about 1832.

Constellations' (1825), and a series of terrestrial and celestial globes.

Eliminating individual maps, where they are incorporated at any stage in an atlas, there may, probably, remain about 90 titles of which notice would be taken under the name of John Cary in any tolerably complete bibliography. They may be classified as follows: (i) Atlases and sets of maps, plans and sections, 10 titles; (ii) Individual maps and charts (not incorporated in any atlas), 37; (iii) Geological maps, sections and tables, 7; (iv) Road-Books and Itineraries, 10; (v) Canal, dock, and drainage maps and plans, 11; (vi) Plans of London and its environs, 8; (vii) Miscellaneous publications, 7. Of individual maps (without counting several sets entirely re-engraved) about 450 can be identified, and at least another 150 could be added for re-engraved plates.

This slight sketch may, I trust, be adequate to establish the character and importance of the work of John Cary as an engraver, and as a cartographical and topographical publisher.

V

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUES OF MAPS

THEIR ARRANGEMENT, AND THE DETAILS THEY
SHOULD CONTAIN

ABOUT eighteen years ago (in the year 1896) I undertook, little conscious of the amplitude such a work could assume, a catalogue or list of the maps of the county of Hertford—limiting my investigations, however, to the engraved maps of the county. Working alone, and without guidance from any previous compilations of the sort, and perhaps without sufficiently devoting myself to preparation for such a study, I had to invent forms and methods, and digest my materials according to the lights which they seemed, to an uninstructed mind, to throw upon the subject. Published in sections spread over six years (October 1901 to September 1907) in the 'Transactions of the Hertfordshire Natural History Society' (London and Hertford, 8vo), a few reprinted copies of the whole, paged consecutively, were issued with the addition of a Preface, Table of Contents, Notes on the Illustrations, an Index List of the Maps, Indexes (i) to Titles of Topographical Works, Atlases, etc., and (ii) to Names of Authors, Engravers, Printers and Publishers, and a Bibliography of Works of Reference,¹ the whole constituting a sufficiently exhaustive monograph of the engraved cartography of the county and incidentally supplying much of the materials upon which a similar list of the maps of the counties of England and Wales, or of any individual county, could at any time with very little labour be constructed.

Founding, in a large measure, on these materials, I was, later, induced to prepare for publication by the Cambridge

¹ 'Hertfordshire Maps: a Descriptive Catalogue of the Maps of the County, 1579-1900.' xii + 182 pp. and 8 plates and portrait, Hertford, 1907, 4to; and a 'Supplement', vii + 42 pp., Hertford, 1914, 4to.

Antiquarian Society, a descriptive catalogue of the maps of the county of Cambridge, followed by an appendix treating in a similar manner the special maps of the Great Level of the Fens.¹ This compilation extends over three years (1905-8) in the 'Communications' of the Society, and, in similar manner to the Hertfordshire Map Catalogue, has been put together in one volume with a Prefatory Note, etc., and so issued in a few special copies in 1908.² I have more recently published, as a paper read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, a historical and descriptive work on the Cartography of the Provinces of France, 1570-1757,³ and have dealt more or less with the bibliographical side of cartography in various minor publications of which the titles are noted below.⁴

I ought perhaps to apologize for an enumeration of these obscure works, but without some foundation of this sort I should hardly be justified in claiming notice for the *exposé* of doubts and difficulties founded on my personal efforts to obtain experience in a byway of bibliography, which is in substance what I have to present in the following pages.

The Introduction to my Hertfordshire Map Catalogue, printed in October 1901, was at that time the best explanation I could offer of the ideas with which I approached the subject of the engraved cartography of the English and Welsh

¹ Now reprinted, *ante*, p. 61.

² 'Cambridgeshire Maps: a Descriptive Catalogue of the Maps of the County and of the Great Level of the Fens, 1579-1900.' viii + 158 pp., Cambridge, 1908, 4to.

³ 'Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications', vol. xiii, pp. 82 et seq., 40 pp. and 5 plates, Cambridge, 1909, 8vo. Also reprinted here, *post*, p. 128.

⁴ *Notes sur la Cartographie des Provinces anglaises et françaises des seizeième et dix-septième siècles*, Ghent, 1907, 8vo.

'Notes on the Cartography of the Counties of England and Wales,' Hertford, 1908, 8vo.

'John Cary, Engraver and Mapseller,' Cambridge, 1910, 8vo.

'An Itinerary of the 16th Century. *La Guide des Chemins d'Angleterre*. Jean Bernard. Paris, 1579,' Cambridge, 1910, 8vo.

Liste Alphabétique des Plans et Vues de Villes, Citadelles et Forteresses qui se trouvent dans le grand atlas de Mortier, édition d'Amsterdam de 1696. (Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive, Nos. 1-2, 1910), Paris, 1911, 8vo.

A paper communicated to the *Congrès archéologique de France*, held at Saumur and Anger in June 1910, on the Cartography of the French Provinces, and which has since been published with the title, *La Cartographie des Provinces de France, 1594-1757*, Cambridge, 1912, 8vo.

counties. It was, unfortunately, written before the work itself had reached at all an advanced stage, and may thus be found in some respects defective, and has now, in light of the completion of the work, been partially rewritten and amplified. Nevertheless, it remains a fair statement of my general ideas, and is reprinted with some amendment and revision as the first of these studies.

In dealing with the cartographic history of a limited and local area, a special scheme had to be set up, which would not be altogether applicable to the general method of map description. It may be convenient to deal with the questions I submit to bibliographers on these limited and special lines in the first place, and leave to others their general bearing on the arrangement, classification, and character, from a bibliographical point of view, of maps, atlases, and topographical works in general. This latter subject is vast, and condensation is difficult. If I take the liberty here of only mentioning in a discursive and scrappy manner a few points which are perhaps obvious, it is rather with the hope of eliciting discussion than of making any direct contribution to knowledge; but indeed this may be said of the whole of this paper.

As the Hertfordshire Map Catalogue and the Supplement include, with but very trifling possible exceptions, an individual description of every original engraved map of the county, and of every reprint from 1579 to 1900, it will be understood that they group together maps subject in themselves to many distinct and natural classifications. In the early maps artistic and adventitious designs by way of ornamentation are a striking feature becoming, with the growth of geographical knowledge, subordinate to the primary objects of a map, and finally, in modern times, disappearing altogether. In the geographical description of the earlier maps it is necessary to take notice of variations in many matters, which in modern maps have become absolutely stereotyped, such as those relating to orientation, to meridian, and to scale. Thus it will be seen that, when map description and cataloguing is dealt with from an historical point of view, a wide field is open for consideration, in which are found many features altogether futile

and uninstructive to the scientific cartographer of to-day. The description of a modern map falls within very clear and rigid lines, and can be dealt with in a settled, abbreviated form. The work of the early cartographical designers is, on the contrary, naturally the subject of much variety of description in order that its special and artistic features may be noted, and, further, that the gradual development in the art and method of surface representation may be explicitly shown.

The measure of amplification and detail to be introduced in a verbal description of a map depends, of course, on the object with which the text is compiled. The standard I have set up for myself is established upon the idea that the reader should be able, with absolute certainty, to identify the individual map from the inspection of the text; that he may be in a position, by comparing the map with the text, to name its author, its designer, and its engraver (if these are known), to fix its date, to refer it to any atlas, collection of maps or topographical or other work to which it belongs, and, generally, to establish its historical position and cartographical value. If it is a reprint, whether amended or not, after an early impression, its history from the first impression must be traceable; if there are subsequent impressions, these must be made accessible, until the actual or assumed destruction of the plate from which they are taken. The importance of this kind of research, tedious and difficult as it is, is apparent, when one considers how frequently an undated plate is used and re-used over a long series of years—thus purporting to represent at the end of perhaps a century geographical details *as then existent* which have in fact disappeared for more than a hundred years.

Illustration can be readily found during the whole period of engraved cartography. John Speed began the printing of his series of maps of the English Counties, copied from Saxton, in 1605. The collection was completed, and published, as a whole, in the well-known 'Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine', in 1611. Fourteen reprints either of the 'Theatre' or of the maps in atlas form without text, and almost unaltered, sometimes re-dated, and sometimes undated, or with the date more or less successfully obliterated, are known to me, and

there may be others. These reprints extend to about 1770, the latest impression being one which I have not been able, as yet, to date with accuracy. Thus one can take up the 'Theatre' of, say, 1676—the commonest edition—and refer to details in a map as historically associated with that period, whereas in fact they are the designs of the surface drawn by Saxton as the results of his survey in the period 1574 to 1579.

In 1809 John Cary published his 'New English Atlas', an imperial folio set of forty-three maps of the counties of England and Wales. These maps were issued individually, many of them under the date 1801. They are, therefore, the geographical records of the end of the eighteenth century. The plates still exist, and the prints taken from them to-day are being sold to motorists as up-to-date road maps. Railways have been engraved on the plates, and the marginal notes and the titles and references have been erased and replaced by modern indications, but the surface representation of 1801-9 is entirely untouched, and in particular cases I can point out details of some consequence—as for instance, a racecourse or a common—which have disappeared absolutely a hundred and twenty years ago. In 1835 Messrs. J. and C. Walker issued a series of maps of the English counties, folding for the pocket. These maps were collected into the 'British Atlas' in 1841. The plates have been continuously in use from then till now, and are well known in various forms. The famous *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of Ortelius is, of course, another example of reprinting over a number of years from the same plates, and the same may be said of the epitomes of the *Theatrum* issued from the Plantin press.

If an undated book is a nuisance, an undated map, like an undated portrait, is a proper subject of something more than annoyance.

This exhaustive standard of complete descriptive matter, which is the basis of the scheme of my county map catalogue, while it may perhaps be conceded as a proper ideal in the historical study of the local cartography of a town, county, province, and possibly even national area, could not, I assume, be carried further. Its bibliographical value must, I think, be

considerable, as it supplies incidentally a very large, though not, of course, complete, *catalogue raisonné* of the topographical literature of the district, and brings sometimes into light obscure items in this connexion. It may also involve the history of important geographical publications, some of them of a world character—as for instance those of the famous rival establishments of Blaeu and Jansson, which both incorporated the text of Camden's *Britannia*, forming one *tome* out of the eleven or twelve of each series, this text being printed on the back of two complete sets of the county maps of England and Wales copied from Saxton, Speed and Norden.

Assuming that for a bibliographical study such as this a full detail is appropriate, it remains to consider in what it should consist.

A chronological order is essential, and does not require discussion.

I have adopted the year of publication as the foundation fact, and it should, I consider, with the index-title or name, be set in a thick, or distinctive type. On this point the arrangement adopted in the recently published 'List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress' (Washington, 1909, 8vo) is worth comparison. The date where doubtful, or approximate, should be suitably qualified. My practice is to add an asterisk on the left of the date figures, which are themselves indented, to all reprints and secondary impressions. It can thus be seen at a glance, on looking through a list, what are original impressions, and what are the items which have an earlier history.

The difficulty as to index-title is greater in the case of maps than is the case with books. Some maps have no title. A map which occurs in an atlas or topographical work, or other publication, such as a newspaper, is, I think, best described under the name of the author of the work, in the usual catalogue form, or, failing an author, by the name of the work itself. The exact dimensions of the map follow conveniently this title, as supplying the first clue to its identification. The next factor of mensuration, to be associated with

the size, is the scale upon which the map is drawn. Then should follow the name of the engraver, if known, or draughtsman (or both), and possibly a note as to the map after which the engraving was made, if it is not itself an original work. If the year of engraving differs, as is sometimes the case, from the year of the publication as dated, a note should be made here, so that immediate attention may be drawn to the earlier existence of the plate. On this point I may cite the small series of county maps reduced from the series of Saxton, in the same manner as a similar epitome after Ortelius was produced in 1577 by Peter Heyns. The former series was engraved by Peter Keer in 1599, all the maps which are dated bearing that date, but I have never been able to trace any publication until the whole set appears in 1617 in an abridgement of Camden's *Britannia* issued in Amsterdam in that year.

These essential details being brought together, a general description of the map should follow. The character of the border (if any) is perhaps best stated first, with the orientation of the map, and particulars as to the meridian upon which it is drawn, and of the method of indication of the latitude and longitude. The principal details in the composition of the map surface may then be conveniently noted, following, for preference, a settled order. It might be convenient to establish this order as follows: (i) divisions shown (countries, provinces, districts, parishes, etc.); (ii) water-courses and means of communication (rivers, canals, roads, railways); (iii) centres of population and government (cities, towns, villages, hamlets); (iv) minor details, such as churches, other ecclesiastical buildings, parks, houses, wind- and water-mills, beacons, hills (by shading or otherwise), woods and forests, lakes and ponds. In large scale and local maps other details may be of sufficient importance to be noted. Another grouping would be to associate first the natural features, and secondly the artificial features, but this would break waterways into two classes, and in other respects be inconvenient. Following these particulars the surrounding ornamental features should be recorded, each *cartouche* or panel in ancient maps being placed and a descrip-

tion given, including the transcript of any title and other engraved text found on the margin of the map.

Having dealt with the map itself, not forgetting any watermark on the paper on which it is printed, which may be of importance for the purpose of identification of date or origin, the work from which it is taken or with which it was published should be fully noted up, with appropriate particulars, and such historical details and information as may be necessary to establish the surrounding circumstances relating to the production of the map, on its scientific as well as its literary side.

Some reference to past or future editions, whether illustrated by the map in question or not, with dates, so as to preserve continuity, and to enable the inquirer, when turning up one entry, to obtain readily all information contained in previous or subsequent entries relating to the same matters of historical sequence, should be briefly added.

This, in the ordinary case of an isolated map, seems all that is needed.

How inset maps should be dealt with is perhaps a question. In some cases—perhaps in all—they might be treated, indexed and described as separate maps. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, separate plans of fortresses were often associated in large numbers with a principal map. This is common in the great atlas of Sanson's maps, issued by his two sons Guillaume and Adrien in collaboration with Hubert Jaillot. A special case is seen also in Julien's map of France of 1751 (*Atlas Géographique et Militaire de la France*), a map in sheets, which, when mounted together, are surrounded by a wide border containing a plan, the arms and a short description of each of the fortified places of the kingdom, 110 in number. Some distinction should be, possibly, drawn in this connexion between quite local plans on a completely different scale from the map itself and inset maps of approximately the same scale and character.

While on this subject I may mention the insertion in the later issue of Jaillot's maps—at Amsterdam, by the publisher Mortier—of a large number of sheets on which are engraved, in general eight on a page, small plans and views of the

fortresses of Europe, 196 in number. Of these I have prepared nominal index-lists with a short preface which has been published in Paris, and is noted above. I refer to this publication, as its form and substance, though elementary, may be useful for comparison with my more elaborate efforts of a similar character.

It is, of course, true that in quite modern maps scientific details of importance must be noted, to make any description complete. The character of the conventional signs, the use of distinctive colours and forms, contour lines and their significance and other matters in the domain of scientific and exact cartography are essential to the understanding, from the written text, of the value of the map. The question of meridian has pretty well ceased to be controversial, but, naturally, in the early days of map production, it was a source of prolonged and generally rather futile discussion. In English maps, I need hardly remind the reader, the vague meridian in the Atlantic, adopted in the first instance, became, firstly, a fairly certain initial meridian taken through the Azores or the Canaries, and gave way at the end of the seventeenth century (*circa* 1676) to the meridian of London, which towards the end of the next century had become more exactly the meridian of St. Paul's Cathedral, until the triangulation of the Ordnance Survey introduced the meridian of Greenwich Observatory. In France, Ferro (Isle de Fer), the most westerly point of the Canaries, was, as already noticed, adopted by a decree of Louis XIII (1636) as the initial meridian from which French navigators were to calculate the longitude (making Paris 20° E.), and this cartographic basis subsisted till the end of the eighteenth century.

Conventional signs appear on maps towards the end of the seventeenth century. The basis for international uniformity in cartographic representation is now formulated by the agreement for the world map on the scale of one-millionth, some few sheets of which have appeared recently.

Passing from graphic forms, there remains the question of colour.

It is only in comparatively modern times, of course, that

maps have been printed in colour, but from the earliest appearance of engraved maps they were habitually coloured and ornamented by hand, in individual cases, no doubt, to suit the taste and the purse of the buyer. The celebrated Ortelius, who with Mercator shares the glory of the foundation of modern geography, began his association with cartography by collecting and colouring maps for sale at Antwerp, where he was born. In the following century the art was so much in repute that Jean Boisseau could describe himself (1636) as a court official under the title "*enlumineur du roi pour les cartes géographiques*", and, later, we find magnificent specimens of its development in the maps of Jaillot, which represent its final glory. The more exact and scientific cartography of the eighteenth century does not appear to have lent itself to colouring, at all events not as an embellishment of the map as a work of art.

Whatever it may please the bookseller to recite in glorification of early maps as "highly coloured" and so on, as an attraction to the purchaser, the intelligent collector will, in most cases, prefer his specimens *en noir*, by far the larger portion of the maps now on sale having been rather spoilt than improved by the colouring to which they have been submitted. A really finely coloured and gilded map of the end of the seventeenth century or an atlas so treated throughout is occasionally obtainable, and is worth acquisition.

My own view is that colouring by hand should not, in general, be noticed in a descriptive catalogue of maps. Colouring by impression, a constant and uniform part of the map itself, must, however, be noted, and where colours (as in quite modern maps) are used to give technical character to details this fact requires comment and explanation.

I may add a word on the indexing of this kind of publication.

I have imagined an abbreviated chronological list as introductory to a catalogue of maps. It sets out the original impressions in order of date—that date being followed in each case by the index title, the dimensions, and, finally, the dates of all reprints. I also add two full indexes, one of them containing the titles of every work mentioned, and the other the

name of every author, engraver, printer, and publisher referred to in the text as occurring on or in connexion with any map catalogued.

I should add that in my Catalogue of Cambridgeshire Maps, as well as in that of the Maps of the Great Level, in which I have maintained my general system, I have considerably reduced the amount of matter, principally by abandoning the more complete method of taking each reprint in separate chronological order. In these lists the duplicate or reprinted maps follow the original impression, and the details necessary to be worked into the text are thus much diminished. As the Hertfordshire list can always be referred to as the standard work on county cartography—and as, in nine cases out of ten at least, county maps in this country are in complete series, it is useless to repeat the particulars of the topographical works, atlases, directories, etc., in which they are found.

As I have already mentioned, two very valuable publications dealing respectively with the County Maps of Lancashire and Cheshire, from the pen of Mr. Wm. Harrison ('Early Maps of Lancashire and their Makers,' Manchester, 1908, and 'Early Maps of Cheshire,' Manchester, 1909), have appeared in the 'Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society'. More recently the maps of Wiltshire have been fully catalogued by Mr. Thomas Chubb, of the British Museum Library, in 'A Descriptive Catalogue of the Printed Maps of Wiltshire from 1576 to the publication of the 25 in. Ordnance Survey, 1885' ('Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine', vol. xxxvii), Devizes, 1911, 8vo, who has also published or has in the press catalogues of those of Gloucestershire and Somerset.

The more historical and less descriptive study which I have attempted of the maps of the French Provinces, while possibly presenting some features of technical interest in its arrangements, is not worth any particular treatment from the point of view of the subject now under consideration.

The larger question of how maps should be dealt with in general catalogues, and to what extent individual maps should in such catalogues be treated separately from complete atlases,

and again to what extent, if at all, such catalogues ought to be completed by the nominal insertion of each map bound up with the text in topographical and other books and publications, I rather shrink from attacking.

I think it would be well if complete atlases were separately catalogued in all libraries. The recent publication of the 'List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress' is a work of great interest in this connexion. If the British Museum could publish a similar catalogue of the atlases in its collection, it would, I think, be of great value. Although the atlases in that library are readily accessible through the Map Catalogue, a good deal of time is lost in distinguishing them in the long lists of individual maps which there occur. Again, it would be of service, in such a collection, if the individual maps could be each marked with its source. The work of making this annotation would, however, be a serious one. The cartographic wealth of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris is much obscured by the absence of efficient and accessible cataloguing—but here there is, I fear, very little hope of improvement. If the British Museum and the *Bibliothèque Nationale* would each publish a list of atlases on the lines of that of the Library of Congress, the light thrown on the bibliographical side of this subject would be really very important.

APPENDIX

SPECIMENS OF FULL AND ABRIDGED DESCRIPTIONS OF MAPS OF VARIOUS DATES

[The longer descriptions are taken from the author's 'Hertfordshire Maps', published by Stephen Austin & Sons, Limited, Hertford, in 1907, the shorter from his 'Cambridgeshire Maps', published by The University Press, Cambridge, in 1908. Although describing different maps it will be seen that the two series of descriptions are throughout closely parallel.]

I

HERTFORDSHIRE. (*Hertfordshire Maps, 1907.*)

1607. **Camden, William.** $14 \times 11\frac{1}{4}$. Scale, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 inch.
Engraved by William Kip, after Norden.

A plain map, showing the hundreds, rivers, towns and villages, and parks, with trees and hills figured. In left top corner, in panel,

“*Hertfordiae comitatus a Cattifuclanis (sic) olim inhabitatus*,” and below, names of the hundreds in two columns, thus:—

THE NAMES OF THE HUNDREDS OF THE MAPPE.

1. Caisho Hundred.	5. Odsey Hundred.
2. Dacorum Hundred.	6. Edwinstree Hundred.
3. Hitch halfe Hûdred.	7. Braghinge Hundred.
4. Broad water Hundred.	8. Hartforde Hundred.

In left bottom corner, “*Scala Milliarium*,” and “*Johannes Norden perambulavit et descripsit Wilhelmi kip Sculpsit*.” In right bottom corner, indicator of cardinal points. Latin text printed on back.

From Camden's *Britannia*, the last Latin edition published by Camden himself (he died in 1623), and the first with county maps. London, 1607, folio. The imprint on the title-page is, “*Londini, Impensis Georgii Bishop et Joannis Norton. M.DC.VII.*”

(Reprinted in 1610 and again in 1637, in Philemon Holland's English translation of the *Britannia*; both editions, London, folio.)

*1610. **Camden, William.** $14 \times 11\frac{1}{4}$. Scale, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 inch.
Engraved by William Kip, after Norden.

This is a reprint of the map of 1607 (q.v.), but is distinguishable from it by the absence of text on the back.

From Camden's *Britannia*, Philemon Holland's English translation, the first edition, London, 1610, folio. The imprint on the title-page is that of the Latin edition of 1607, with the date M.DC.X. There is a copy of this edition in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, without the county maps.

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*1637. **Camden, William.** $14 \times 11\frac{1}{4}$. Scale, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 inch.
Engraved by William Kip, after Norden.

A reprint of the map in the folio editions of Camden's *Britannia* of 1607 and 1610, but distinguishable by a plate number 16 in the left-hand bottom corner.

From Camden's *Britannia*, Philemon Holland's English translation, the second (and last) edition, London, 1637, folio. The imprint on the title-page of this edition is, “London, printed by F. K. R. Y. and I. L. for Joyce Norton, and Richard Whitaker [“for Andrew Heb,” in the British Museum copy], 1637.”

CAMBRIDGESHIRE. (*Cambridgeshire Maps, 1908.*)

1607. **Camden, William.** $12\frac{1}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$. Scale, about 3 miles = 1 inch. Engraved by William Kip, after Saxton.

This is the earliest individual map of the county. The rivers, with the principal bridges, are shown as in Saxton's map, with the towns and villages, a few parks, and some hills and trees. It is coarsely drawn, and has a single-line border without ornament. The title, in the right-hand top corner, is: "Cambridge Comitatus quem olim Iceni Insederunt." In the bottom right-hand corner is a scale of miles, and below, in a panel, "Christophorus Saxton descrip: Wilhelmus Kip Sculpsit."

From Camden's *Britannia*, the last Latin edition published by Camden himself, and the first with county maps. London, 1607, fol.

Reprinted:

1610. In Philemon Holland's English translation of the *Britannia*. London, 1610, fol.

1637. And in the same, second edition. London, 1637, fol.

II

HERTFORDSHIRE. (*Hertfordshire Maps, 1907.*)

1724. **Moll, Herman.** $10\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$. Scale, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 inch.

Gives hundreds, roads, rivers, towns and villages, with hamlets, houses, parks, hills, and woods. It has a double-ruled border, with the degrees and minutes of longitude and latitude marked, and the words "First meridian from London" in the margin. The hundreds are distinguished by capital letters A to H, and detached parts by small letters *i* to *l*, a detached part of the county being identified by the letter *m*. In the left-hand top corner, in rectangular panel, "Hertford Shire. By H. Moll Geographer", and below the panel a list of the hundreds. At the top of the map on the right-hand side, a list of the parts of the hundreds, etc., corresponding with the letters on the map. In the bottom right-hand corner a scale of (5) "English Miles", and a circular indicator showing the north and east. On either side of the map, within the engraved plate, are six coins, the plate, with the two columns of coins, being $12\frac{1}{8}$ inches wide. The left-hand column is headed "British Coins". In the left-hand top corner, in the margin of the map, is the number "(18)".

From 'A New Description of England and Wales, With the Adjacent Islands. Wherein are contained Diverse useful Observations and Discoveries In respect to Natural History, Antiquities, Customs, Honours, Privileges, Etc. . . . To which is added, A new and correct Set of Maps of each County, their Roads and Distances ; and, to render 'em the more acceptable to the Curious, their Margins are adorn'd with great Variety of very remarkable Antiquities, Etc. By Herman Moll, Geographer.' This work is printed for H. Moll, and sold by T. Bowles, C. Rivington, and J. Bowles. London, 1724, fol.

*1724. **Moll, Herman.** $10\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$. Scale, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 inch.

A reprint of the above map of Herts without alteration. From an atlas of the set of maps printed in the 'New Description', with a new title-page, which runs as follows :—'A Set of Fifty New and Correct Maps of England and Wales . . . with the Great Roads and Principal Cross-Roads . . . Shewing the Computed Miles from Town to Town. . . All, except two, composed and done by Herman Moll, Geographer.' London, 1724, fol. It also occurs bound in 4to. It is sold by Moll, and Thomas and J. Bowles. (Reprinted in 1739, and again in 1753 without the coins in the margin, in Moll's 'British Atlas'.)

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*1739. **Moll, Herman.** $10\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$. Scale, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 inch.

A reprint of the map of 1724 in the collection of Moll's county maps.

From 'A Set of Fifty New and Correct Maps of England and Wales', apparently the 2nd edition. London, 1739, fol. I have not seen this reissue.

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*1753. **Moll, Herman.** $10\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$. Scale, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 inch.

A reprint of Moll's Map of Herts of 1724, but with the coins cut off the plate. The map itself is unaltered, except that it is numbered in the margin in the left-hand top corner "(20)" instead of "(18)".

From Moll's 'British Atlas, or Pocket Maps of all the Counties in England and Wales'. 1753, sm. folio. There are 51 maps in this Atlas.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE. (*Cambridgeshire Maps, 1908.*)

1724. **Moll, Herman.** $7\frac{1}{2} \times 10$. Scale, 5 miles = 1 inch.

A map showing the rivers, drains, principal roads, and most of the towns and villages. The hundreds are distinguished by letters, and the degrees and minutes of latitude and longitude are shown in the margin. At the top, and at the foot of the map are engravings of Saxon coins, which lengthen the plate $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in all. The title, in the right-hand bottom corner, is: "Cambridg-Shire. By H. Moll Geographer."

From 'A New Description of England and Wales, With the Adjacent Islands'. "By Herman Moll, Geographer." London, 1724, fol.

Reprinted:

1724. In an atlas entitled 'A Set of Fifty New and Correct Maps of England and Wales.' London, 1724, fol. It is also found bound in 4to.

1739. In a reprint of the last-mentioned atlas, apparently the second edition. London, 1739, fol.

1753. With the marginal designs cut off, in Moll's 'British Atlas, or Pocket Maps of all the Counties in England and Wales'. London, 1753, sm. fol. There are 51 maps in this atlas.

III

HERTFORDSHIRE. (*Hertfordshire Maps, 1907.*)

1766. **Ellis, John.** $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{5}{8}$. Scale, 5 miles = 1 inch.

Gives roads, rivers, towns (distinguishing borough and market towns), villages, rectories and vicarages, fairs, hills, parks, and woods. Plain margin, with inner line divided into degrees and minutes of latitude and longitude. In left-hand top corner, on design of upright stone, with ornaments and a background of trees, "A Modern Map of Hartford-Shire, Drawn from the latest Surveys; Corrected and Improved by the best Authorities. J. Ellis, sculpt." and a circular indicator of the north. In the right-hand bottom corner, "Remarks", showing the meaning of the signs used on the map, and, below, scale of "British Statute Miles 69 to a Degree". At foot, below margin, "Printed for Carington Bowles in St. Pauls Churchyard, and Robt Sayer in Fleet Street." The map is numbered 22 at the right-hand top corner. (Reprinted 1768, 1773, and 1777.)

From 'Ellis's English Atlas: or a Compleat Chorography of England and Wales: in Fifty Maps, Containing more Particulars than any other Collection of the Same Kind. The Whole Calculated for the Use of Travellers, Academies, and of all those who desire to Improve in the Knowledge of their Country. From the latest Surveys of the Several Counties; Engraved by, and under the Direction of, J. Ellis.'

This appears to be the first edition of the Atlas, London, 1766, long 4to. It is the only one mentioned in Gough's "Anecdotes". It is "Printed for Carington Bowles, next the Chapter-House, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; and Robert Sayer, at the Golden Buck, near Serjeants Inn, in Fleet-Street. Price 10s. 6d. in Red Leather for the Pocket. MDCCCLXVI."

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*1768. **Ellis, John.** $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{5}{8}$. Scale, 5 miles = 1 inch.

An exact reprint of the map of Herts in the Atlas of 1766. From 'Ellis's English Atlas'. London, 1768, long 4to. Apparently the second edition. It is printed for Robert Sayer, Thomas Jefferys, and A. Dury.

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*1773. **Ellis, John.** $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{5}{8}$. Scale, 5 miles = 1 inch.

Another unaltered impression of the map in the Atlas of 1766, but folding in the middle.

From 'Ellis's English Atlas', London, 1773, 8vo. This appears to be the third issue. It is printed for Robert Sayer alone. In the copy in the British Museum a folding chart of distances on the plan of Norden's is inserted, but it is not referred to in the list of maps, and does not seem to belong to the Atlas. It has "P. Luckcombe Fecit 1775" in one corner.

*1777. **Ellis, John.** $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{5}{8}$. Scale, 5 miles = 1 inch.

A further reprint of the map of Herts first published in 1766.

From 'Ellis's English Atlas', London, 1777, 4to. The fourth and last edition, it seems. The maps are not folded.

Printed for R. Sayer and J. Bennett.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE. (*Cambridgeshire Maps, 1908.*)

1766. **Ellis, John.** $7\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{7}{8}$. Scale, about 5 miles = 1 inch.

A well-filled map, wanting the boundaries of the hundreds. The fen districts with their drains, dykes and meres fully shown in detail.

Most of the villages are indicated. At the top right-hand corner the title, in an ornamental panel with a background of trees, etc. :—“A Modern Map of Cambridgeshire, Drawn from the latest Surveys; Corrected and Improved by the best Authorities. J. Ellis, *sculp^t.*” At foot:—“Printed for Rob^t. Sayer in Fleet Street, and Carington Bowles in St Pauls Church yard.”

From ‘Ellis’s English Atlas: or, a compleat Chorography of England and Wales: in Fifty Maps, Containing more Particulars than any other Collection of the Same Kind’. It is “Engraved by, and under the Direction of, J. Ellis”. London, 1766, obl. 4to.

Reprinted:

1768. In a reprint of ‘Ellis’s English Atlas.’ London, 1768, obl. 4to.

1773. In another reprint of the same atlas. London, 1773, 8vo.

1777. And again in what is probably the last edition of the atlas. London, 1777, 4to.

IV

HERTFORDSHIRE. (*Hertfordshire Maps, 1907.*)

1788. **Political Magazine.** $12\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Scale, 4 miles = $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch. Engraved by John Lodge.

Shows rivers, principal roads, towns, villages, hamlets, parks, woods, and hills. Plain-ruled margin, with degrees and minutes of latitude and longitude. Meridians of 52° N. latitude and 0° longitude of London ruled across map. In left-hand top corner: “A Map of Hartfordshire, from the latest Authorities.” In the right-hand top corner, a small circular indicator of the north, and in the right-hand bottom corner: “Remarks”, and, below, scale of (10) “British Statute Miles 69 to a Degree”. On bottom border, within map, on left, is: “Longitude West from London”, and on right, “Longitude East from London”, and in margin, “Meridian 0 of London”.

At the right-hand top corner, outside border: “Political Mag. Oct^r 88”, and, below, in middle, “London Published as the Act directs, Oct^r 31st 1788 by J. Murray, No. 32 Fleet Street”.

From ‘The Political Magazine, and Parliamentary, Naval, Military, and Literary Journal’, 21 vols., London, 1780–91, 8vo. The map of Herts illustrates vol. xv. (June–December, 1788).

Other county maps in the series have at foot “J. Lodge *sc.*” (The maps are reprinted in an atlas, without title or date, about 1795.)

* * * * *

*1795 (c). **Lodge, John.** $12\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Scale, 4 miles = $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch.

A reprint of the map of Herts which occurs in 'The Political Magazine' for October, 1788, with the omission of the reference and date outside the top right-hand corner, and of the publisher's imprint at the foot of the map. It is otherwise unaltered.

From an atlas of 40 maps of the English counties, preceded by three general maps of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, without title or date, on thin paper, folio. There is a copy in the British Museum, and I have one in my collection. The paper of the latter has a water-mark dated 1795.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE. (*Cambridgeshire Maps, 1908.*)

1787. **Political Magazine, and Parliamentary, Naval, Military, and Literary Journal.** $10\frac{3}{8} \times 12\frac{3}{4}$. Scale, about 4 miles = 1 inch. Engraved by John Lodge.

A map following closely those of Ellis and Bowen in design and detail. It is entitled: "A New Map of Cambridgeshire from the best Authorities", and has, at the top right-hand corner, "Political Mag Novr. 87", and at foot, in centre, "London, Published as the Act directs, 30 Novr. 1787, by J. Murray No. 32 Fleet Street", and on the right, "J. Lodge sc."

From the number for November, 1787, in vol. 13, of the 'Political Magazine, and Parliamentary, Naval, Military, and Literary Journal', at p. 814. There is no descriptive text. London, 1787, 8vo. This magazine was issued in 21 volumes, London, 1780-91, all 8vo.

Reprinted:

1795 (c.). In an atlas without date or title, of which I have a copy printed on paper bearing a water-mark date 1795. The imprint at foot and the reference to the 'Political Magazine' are erased from the plate of the map of Cambridgeshire in this impression.

V

HERTFORDSHIRE. (*Hertfordshire Maps, 1907.*)

1790. **Aikin, John.** $7\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$. Scale, about 8 miles = 1 inch.

Outline map without border, filling page of small octavo volume. Shows boundary of county by finely-dotted line, the principal rivers and their tributaries, including the New River, and the chief towns.

In the left-hand top corner: "Hertfordshire." The names of the adjacent counties are also inserted in the map.

From 'England Delineated; or, a Geographical Description of every county in England and Wales: with a concise account of its most important products, natural and artificial. For the use of Young Persons.' This is the second edition of this work; the first edition, published in 1788, has no maps. London, 1790, 8vo.

(Reprinted, 3rd ed. 1795, 4th ed. 1800, 5th ed. 1803, 6th ed. 1809, all with the county maps; and also, with large additions, under the title 'England Described', 1818, but without maps. The maps are also found bound together, without title, in the Library of the British Museum, the volume containing a manuscript date 1796.)

* * * * *

***1795. Aikin, John.** $7\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$. Scale, about 8 miles = 1 inch.

An exact reprint of the map of Herts in the second edition of 'England Delineated', published in 1790.

From 'England Delineated', 3rd ed. London, 1795, 8vo.

* * * * *

***1800. Aikin, John.** $7\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$. Scale, about 8 miles = 1 inch.

Another reprint of the map of Herts of 1790.

From 'England Delineated', 4th ed. London, 1800, 8vo.

* * * * *

***1803. Aikin, John.** $7\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$. Scale, about 8 miles = 1 inch.

Reprinted from the plate which first appears in Aikin's 'England Delineated', the second edition, published in 1790.

From 'England Delineated', 5th ed. London, 1803, 8vo.

* * * * *

***1809. Aikin, John.** $7\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$. Scale, about 8 miles = 1 inch.

The last reprint of the map of 1790.

From 'England Delineated', 6th ed. London, 1809, 8vo.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE. (*Cambridgeshire Maps, 1908.*)

1790. Aikin, John. An outline map without border, about $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Scale, about 18 miles = 1 inch.

Gives the county boundary, the principal rivers, and a few towns. At the top "Cambridgeshire", in slightly ornamental capitals.

From 'England Delineated, or, a Geographical Description of

every county in England and Wales', second edition. London, 1790, 8vo. The first edition of this work (1788) has no maps.

Reprinted:

1795.	In successive, unaltered editions of the same publication, all London, 8vo.
1800.	
1803.	
1809.	

VI

HERTFORDSHIRE. (*Hertfordshire Maps, 1907.*)

1808. **Capper, Benjamin Pitts.** $7 \times 4\frac{1}{6}$. Scale, 8 miles = 1 inch. Drawn and engraved by Cooper.

A map showing the hundreds, rivers, canals, roads, towns, and a few villages, with a few hills along the northern border. The river rising at Baldock and flowing into the Hiz is erroneously named the Rhea. The border, of a thick ruled line, is broken in four places along the bottom by the boundary of the county. In the right-hand top corner, in a narrow panel with the corners bevelled, the title: "Hertfordshire", and, below: "in which is laid down every Parish and Place containing upwards of 40 Houses". Below again, in a single column, a list of the hundreds, and particulars of the boroughs, market towns, parishes, inhabitants, acres, etc., and at its foot a scale of ten "British Miles". In the left-hand top corner an indicator of the cardinal points, consisting of two crossed lines, with an ornamental terminal for the north. Above the top right-hand corner: "Plate xvi"; below the map, in the centre: "Published Jany 1, 1808, by R. Phillips, Bridge Street, Blackfriars, London"; and on the right: "Cooper delt. et sculp^t."

From 'A Topographical Dictionary of the United Kingdom'. London, 1808, 8vo. It contains 46 maps, including 40 of the English counties.

(Reprinted in 1813, 1826, and 1829.)

* * * * *

*1813. **Capper, Benjamin Pitts.** $7 \times 4\frac{1}{6}$. Scale, 8 miles = 1 inch. Drawn and engraved by Cooper.

A reprint of the map of 1808, unaltered.

From another edition of 'A Topographical Dictionary of the United Kingdom'. London, 1813, 8vo. This edition has 47 maps.

* * * * *

*1826. **Capper, Benjamin Pitts.** $7 \times 4\frac{1}{16}$. Scale, 8 miles = 1 inch. Drawn and engraved by Cooper.

A further reprint of the map of Herts of 1808, with alterations in some of the figures of population, etc., to bring them up to date. The imprint at foot is altered to: "Published by G. and W. B. Whitaker 13, Ave Maria Lane, 1824." The engraver's name is omitted.

From 'A Topographical Dictionary of the United Kingdom'. London, 1826, 8vo. This appears to be the third edition of this work.

* * * * *

*1829. **Capper, Benjamin Pitts.** $7 \times 4\frac{1}{16}$. Scale, 8 miles = 1 inch. Drawn and engraved by Cooper.

A reprint of the Hertfordshire map of 1808, as altered and redated 1824, and published in the 'Topographical Dictionary' of 1826.

From 'A Topographical Dictionary of the United Kingdom'. London, 1829, 8vo. This issue is described on the title-page as a "New Edition".

CAMBRIDGESHIRE. (*Cambridgeshire Maps, 1908.*)

1808. **Capper, Benjamin Pitts.** $4\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$. Scale, $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 inch. Drawn and engraved by Cooper.

A clear and rather delicately designed map of Cambridgeshire, showing the Wash in the north, and with the fen area indicated by shading and representations of reeds. It gives the usual details. The border is of two lines only. Above the top right-hand corner: "Plate IV." At foot, in the centre, below the border: "Published Jany. 1, 1808, by R. Philips Bridge Street Blackfriars London.", and, on the right: "Cooper, delt. et sculpt." In the right-hand top corner an arrow-head indicator of the north. Below the county boundary, in the centre, in a long panel: "Cambridgeshire", and, again below: "in which is laid down every Parish and Place containing upwards of 40 Houses", and a scale of 10 "British Miles". On the right of this title a list of the hundreds in a single column, and, on the left, details of acreage, population, inhabited houses, etc.

From 'A Topographical Dictionary of the United Kingdom', by Benjamin Pitts Capper. London, 1808, 8vo

Reprinted:

1813. } In successive editions of the 'Dictionary', the publishers
 1825. } and the imprint at the foot of the maps being altered to :
 1826. } "Published by G. and W. B. Whittaker, 13, Ave Maria
 1829. } Lane, 1824", from the 1825 edition. In which also the
 engraver's name at the foot of the Cambridgeshire map is erased.

VII

HERTFORDSHIRE. (*Hertfordshire Maps, 1907.*)

1845. **Kelly, W., and Co.** $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{5}{8}$. Scale, about 5 miles = 1 inch. Engraved by B. R. Davies.

A rather faintly-printed map of Herts, in a plain, ruled border, giving the usual details, with railways and stations, and an asterisk denoting money-order offices. In the left-hand top corner: "Post-Office Map of Hertfordshire. 1845", and, below: "Scale of (6) Miles", and the signs denoting polling-places and "Post Office Money Order Towns", and a thin vertical line with a star at the upper end and a cross line as indicator of the points of the compass. In the right-hand bottom corner, the number of square miles and inhabitants in the county, the names of the hundreds, and the number of members returned to Parliament by the county, and the boroughs of Hertford and St. Albans. Below the margin, in the centre: "Kelly & Co. Post Office Directory Offices, 19 and 20 Old Boswell Court, Temple Bar", and, on the right: "Drawn and Engraved by B. R. Davies, 16 George Str. Euston Squ."

From the 'Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties, viz., Essex, Herts, Kent, Middlesex, Surrey and Sussex. With Maps engraved expressly for the work.' London, no date (but Preface dated July, 1845), 8vo. This is the earliest issue of this Directory, which, under titles slightly varying from time to time, was reissued in 1852, 1855, 1859, 1862, 1867, 1871, and 1874 (with the above map of Herts), and in 1878, 1882, 1886, 1890, 1894, and 1898, with larger maps. The small map was also reprinted in an atlas of county maps in 1860 by the same firm of publishers.

* * * * *

*1852. **Kelly, W., and Co.** $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{5}{8}$. Scale, about 5 miles = 1 inch. Engraved by B. R. Davies.

A reprint of the map of Herts of 1845, redated in the title 1852,

and with some additions to the railways, and to the signs in use on the map.

From the 'Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties'. London, no date (but Preface dated November, 1851), 8vo. This is the second issue of the Directory.

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*1855. **Kelly and Co.** $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{5}{8}$. Scale, about 5 miles = 1 inch.
Engraved by B. R. Davies.

A reprint of the map of 1845, as amended in 1852, but redated 1855, and with slight alterations in the railways. The number of inhabitants in the county is also amended, and the reference to the members of Parliament for St. Albans, as well as the engraver's name, are omitted.

From the 'Post Office Directory of Essex, Herts, Kent, Middlesex, Surrey and Sussex' (the 3rd ed. of the Directory of the Six Home Counties), London, 1855, 8vo.

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*1859. **Kelly and Co.** $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{5}{8}$. Scale, about 5 miles = 1 inch.
Engraved by B. R. Davies.

A reissue of the map of 1845 and subsequent dates, as amended in 1855, but redated 1859, and with some slight further alterations and additions in the railways.

From the 'Post Office Directory of Essex, Herts, Kent, Middlesex, Surrey and Sussex' (the 4th ed.). London, 1859, 8vo.

* * * * *

*1860. **Kelly and Co.** $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{5}{8}$. Scale, about 5 miles = 1 inch.
Engraved by B. R. Davies.

Another reprint of the map of the county of 1845, etc., as last previously republished in the Post Office Directory in 1859, with at foot, below border, on left: "Printed from Stone by C. F. Cheffins and Son London", in centre: "Kelly and Co. Post Office Directory Offices, 19, 20 and 21 Old Boswell Court, Temple Bar", and, on right: "Drawn and Engraved by B. R. Davies." This map is not dated.

From 'The Post Office Directory Atlas of England and Wales', published by Kelly and Co. London, no date, large 4to. This is an atlas of county maps as "originally published with the Directories

for the respective Counties", and "corrected to the present time, December, 1860".

* * * * *

***1862. Kelly and Co.** $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{5}{8}$. Scale, about 5 miles = 1 inch.
Engraved by B. R. Davies.

A further reprint of the map of 1845, as amended in 1855 and 1859, and with some slight additions to the railways, and the correction up to date of the number of the inhabitants of the county. At foot, below margin, on the right: "Drawn and engraved by B. R. Davies." The map is redated 1862.

From the 'Post Office Directory of Essex, Herts, Middlesex, Kent, Surrey and Sussex', the 5th ed., London, 1862, 8vo.

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***1867. Kelly and Co.** $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{5}{8}$. Scale, about 5 miles = 1 inch.
Engraved by B. R. Davies.

The map of 1845 again reprinted from the issue of 1862, with additions to the railways, a correction of the population, the omission of the reference to money-order offices, and the date 1867.

From 'The Post Office Directory of Essex, Herts, Middlesex, Kent, Surrey and Sussex', the 6th ed., London, 1866, 8vo. All the maps are dated 1867, and the preface, October, 1866. It was probably, therefore, issued early in the former year.

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***1871. Kelly and Co.** $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{5}{8}$. Scale, about 5 miles = 1 inch.
Engraved by B. R. Davies.

This reprint of the maps of Herts, 1845-1867, differs from that of the last date by the omission of the reference to polling places, alterations in the railways, the date 1871, and the addition below the margin on the left-hand side, of "J. M. Johnson and Sons, Printers, 3, Castle Street, Holborn and 56 Hatton Garden, London".

From 'The Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties', 7th ed., London, 1870, 8vo. The Preface is dated "November, 1870".

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***1874. Kelly and Co.** $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{5}{8}$. Scale, about 5 miles = 1 inch.
Engraved by F. Bryer (?).

Apparently a slightly altered, and the last, reprint of Davies' map of Herts of 1845, but it may have been re-engraved, as Bryer's name

replaces that of Davies on the map. The alterations from the original design and details are very slight. This map is dated 1874, and at foot, on the left side, is : "J. M. Johnson and Sons, Litho, 56, Hatton Garden, London", in the centre : "Kelly and Co. Post Office Directory Offices, 51 Great Queen Street, London", and on the right : "Engraved by F. Bryer".

CAMBRIDGESHIRE. (*Cambridgeshire Maps, 1908.*)

1846. Kelly, W., and Co. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 11$. Scale, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 inch.
Drawn and engraved by B. R. Davies.

A map of Cambridgeshire in a single-line border, with the usual full details within the county boundaries, the roads, railways, and a few towns being shown up to the margin of the map. In the right-hand top corner : "Post Office Map of Cambridgeshire", and, below, the date : "1846." Again below, a "Scale of Miles" (8), and particulars of the acreage, inhabitants, etc., of the county. On the left-hand side of the map a "Reference to the Hundreds", with the names set in two columns. On the right-hand side a very slightly-drawn indicator of the north, and, in the bottom corner, on the same side, particulars of the members returned to Parliament. In the centre, below the border, at the foot of the map : "Kelly and Co. Post Office Directory Offices 19 and 20 Old Boswell Court, Temple Bar." On the right-hand side : "Drawn and Engraved by B. R Davies, 16 George Str. Euston Squ."

From the 'Post Office Directory of the Norfolk Counties; viz :—Cambridge, Norfolk, and Suffolk', "The maps engraved expressly for the work". London, no date, 8vo.

Reprinted:

1853. In the 'Post Office Directory of Cambridge, Norfolk, and Suffolk', the "Second Edition", published by Kelly and Co. London, no date, 8vo. The preface of this Directory is dated April, 1853. The map of Cambridgeshire is dated 1853, and there are some additions to the "Explanation", and to the railways, as compared with the impression of 1846.

1858. In a Directory with the same title as that of 1853. London, 1858, 8vo. It is described as the "Third Edition", and the preface is dated November, 1858. On the map, Kelly's address is extended, and, below the left-hand bottom corner, is added : "Printed by C. F. Cheffins and Son."

1860. In an atlas entitled the 'Post Office Directory Atlas of England'. London, no date, fol. In the list of maps it is stated that "these maps were originally published with the Directories for the respective Counties, and have been corrected to the present time, December, 1860". This map of Cambridgeshire appears to be unaltered from the impression last noted, but the printer's imprint is: "Printed from Stone by C. F. Cheffins and Son London."

1864. In 'The Post Office Directory of Cambridgeshire', a separate issue for the county. London, no date, 8vo. The preface is dated May, 1864, and the directory is stated to be the fourth edition. The imprint of Cheffins and Son disappears in this issue, but the map appears to be otherwise unaltered, except that it is dated 1864.

1864. In 'The Post Office Directory of Cambridgeshire', in which the preface is dated July, 1864, and the work is again described as the fourth edition. London, no date, 8vo. The map is as in the previous issue of this year.

1869. In 'The Post Office Directory of Cambridge, Norfolk, and Suffolk'. London, 1869, 8vo. This is the fifth edition of the Directory. The map is dated 1869, and it is slightly altered from previous impressions, Kelly and Co.'s address at the foot being altered, and, below the left-hand bottom corner, is now written in: "J. M. Johnson and Sons, Printers, 3, Castle Street, Holborn and 56, Hatton Garden, London."

1875. Again, slightly altered, in 'The Post Office Directory of Cambridge, Norfolk and Suffolk'. London, 1875, 8vo. The map is redated 1875. The imprint below the left-hand bottom corner is omitted.

1875. In 'County Topographies. Cambridgeshire.' London, 1875, 8vo. It is edited by Edward Robert Kelly, M.A., F.S.S. The map is dated 1875. This is the last impression from the plate of 1846.

LA GVIDE
DES CHEMINS D'AN-
GLETERRE, FORT NECES-
saire à ceux qui y voyagent, ou qui
passent de France par Angleterre en
Escoſſe: ayant ordonné le chemin par
les mile, à la mode du pays, faisant
deux mile vne lieuë Françoise.

*I'ay auſſi rapporté certaines particularitez dignes
d'estre cogneuës à ceux qui passeront de ville en ville:
Auec le long & le large compas d'Angleterre, le nô-
bre des paroiffes, Eglises, villes & Euesches.*



A PARIS,
Chez Geruais Mallot, à l'aigle d'or,
ruë Sainct Iacques.

1579.
Auec Priuilege du Roy.

VI

AN ITINERARY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

*LA GUIDE¹ DES CHEMINS D'ANGLETERRE**Jean Bernard, Paris, 1579*

IN 1579 there appeared at Paris, from the press of Gervais Mallot, "à l'aigle d'or, rue Saint Jacques," a tiny book in two parts, the first historical, and the second, to which this note refers, topographical.

The title of this second part, here reproduced, in facsimile, sufficiently indicates its scope and character.

The author was Jean Bernard, who is described in the "*Extraict du Privilege du Roy*", printed at the end of the volume, and dated 15th July, 1578, as "*secretaire de la chambre du Roy*".² In the same document the printer to whom the right to print and publish Bernard's compilation is accorded is: "*Gervais Mallot, marchand Libraire Juré en l'Université de Paris.*"

In the same year Christopher Saxton published, in atlas form, his famous collection of maps of the counties of England

¹ *Guide* was used in the feminine in the seventeenth century, according to Littré, and also, it seems, in the sixteenth, as appears by the title of Bernard's publication, as well as of that of Estienne of an earlier date referred to below.

² Bernard is noted in the *Nouvelle Biographie générale* (tome 5, at p. 586) as a historian of the second half of the sixteenth century, and his *Discours* is there mentioned with the observation that several historical works of this author remain unpublished. It may, perhaps, be fairly assumed that he had visited England, probably on some diplomatic mission, and had thus been in a position for acquiring information as to the roads in that country. It seems that Bernard had died before the actual publication of the *Discours* and *Guide*, as the dedication by the printer Mallot, dated at Paris, 29th January, 1579, refers to him in the following terms: "*Jean Bernard, auteur du présent œuvre, secretaire de la chambre du Roy, homme de grande recherche, et entêdu en l'histoire d'Angleterre, comme il eut suivi cognoistre, si la mort ne l'eut prevenu.*"

and Wales, with a general map of the country, amounting to 35 in number. These county maps were issued individually at various earlier dates, the first in 1574, and others in 1575, 1576, 1577, and 1578. It will be remembered that Camden's *Britannia* appeared in 1586, and the earliest of Norden's topographies (Middlesex) in 1593.

Jean Bernard's little book must, therefore, be certainly one of the earliest efforts to give information as to travelling in England on the lines of an itinerary or road-book. There are at least two sources of contemporaneous information to which Bernard doubtless had access, and from which his details and distances were probably drawn. These are Holinshed's 'Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland', of which the first edition is dated 1577 and the second 1587, and 'The Particular Description of England', by William Smith, which is dated 1588, but was not printed until 1879 (London, 4to). The former contains, at the end of the section entitled the "Historical description of the island of Brittaine", written by William Harrison, and said to have been borrowed from Leland, a chapter headed: "Of our Innes and Thorowfaires" which gives a list of roads with distances between towns, etc., including all those which occur in Bernard's *Guide*. On a comparison of the roads, stages, and distances, it seems clear that Bernard took his itineraries from Holinshed, though there are some differences in the mileages between them, due, perhaps, to errors in copying.

William Smith gives, on ten leaves of his manuscript, under the title, "The High Wais, from any Notable towne in England to the Cittie of London, and Lykewyse from one notable towne to another", a series of roads, with distances from place to place.

A yet earlier road-book, printed in London, gives particulars of a few English roads. It compares in size and printing with Bernard's *Guide*, and shows the post roads of Europe in 75 printed pages. A copy in the British Museum has two titles which sufficiently describe the objects and contents of this work. The first runs: 'The Post of the World. Wherein is contayned the antiquities and originall of the most

famous Cities in Europe. With their trade and traficke. With their wayes and distance of myles, from country to country. With the true and perfect knowledge of their Coynes, the places of their Mynts: with al their Martes and Fayres. And the Raignes of all the Kinges of England. A booke right necessary and profitable, for all sortes of persons, the like before this tyme not Imprinted.' It is followed by an almanack for 17 years, and a detailed almanack showing the saints' days month by month, and a table of the beginning and ending of terms. This makes up altogether 14 leaves. The second title, which is apparently the only one generally found in the few copies which are known, is in the following terms: 'The Post For diuers partes of the world: to trauaile from one notable Citie vnto an other, with a descripcion of the antiquities of diuers famous Cities in *Europe*. The contents doe farther apeare in the next leafe folowing. Very necessary and profitable for Gentlemen, Marchants, Factors, or any other persons disposed to trauaile. The like not heretofore in *English*.' This is "Published by Richard Rowlands", and both title-pages bear the imprint of Thomas East, London, 1576. The road-book portion consists of "The wayes and most vsed passages, from one notable citie to another, in *Germany, Bohemia, Hungaria, Polonia, Lyttaw, and the low countries, with Italy, Fraunce, England, Spagne, and Portingale*".

The roads in England are those from Dover to London, Oxford to London, Bristol to London, York to London, Berwick to York, and St. David's to London. The fairs of England and Wales are set out in chronological order arranged by months, and fill nearly 13 pages. It is said in the account of Rowlands in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' (vol. xlix, at pp. 352-3) that this work was a translation from the German.

While in 1593 and 1598 Norden gave the roads in his maps of Middlesex and Hertfordshire respectively, he was not followed in this particular by the set of maps drawn by Hole and Kip, and used to illustrate the editions of Camden's *Britannia* of 1607, 1610, and 1637, nor by Speed in his

'Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine' of 1611 and subsequent dates, and it was not till towards the end of the seventeenth century that roads became a recognized feature of English maps, in the publications of John Seller (1676), and Robert Morden, and, later again, of Herman Moll.

Nor, during nearly a century after the publication of the itinerary of 1579, until John Ogilby published, in 1675, his celebrated road-book, the *Britannia*, was much progress made in England in the direction indicated by Bernard.

It therefore seems not amiss to chronicle the work of Jean Bernard, which has the special interest of being a topographical publication of even date with that important basis of English cartography the atlas of Saxton.

The only works which may be mentioned as in any degree linking up the itinerary of Bernard with the great road-book of Ogilby are 'England, An Intended Guyde, For English Travailers', published in London in 1625, in which Norden gives a set of tables of distances of his own invention, and Jacob Van Langeren's 'A Direction for the English Traviller', published by Mathew Simons in 1635 and 1636, and in another edition by Thomas Jenner in 1643, which latter work was amplified subsequently by a series of hand-books issued under the title: 'A Book of the Names of all Parishes, Market Towns, Villages, Hamblets, and smallest places in England and Wales', of which editions of 1657, 1662, 1668, and 1677, all London, sm. 4to, are known, and in all of which Norden's tables are used, as they have been since used or imitated in a great number of works both in England and abroad up to the present day.

Bernard's book as a whole is entitled: *Un Discours des plus memorables faicts des Roys et grāds Seigneurs d'Angleterre depuis cinq cens ans: Avec les Genealogies des Roynes d'Angleterre et d'Escosse: Plus un traicté de la Guide des Chemins, les assiettes et descriptions des principales villes, chasteaux et rivieres d'Angleterre.* The first, or historical, section contains 144 pages, including the title, dedication, a preface, and a "Table des Choses plus memorables", which together make up 16 pages. The guide has 28 pages of text,

including a separate title, and the “*privilege*” printed on the last of them. The volume has, thus, 172 pages, and it stands, as much cut down, especially at the top, 145 mm. high, by 96 mm. in width.

The title of the guide may be studied in the reproduction in facsimile here given. The text on the *verso* of the title-page gives the dimensions of England and Wales, in miles, and some statistics for England, viz.: the number of parishes (stated to be 48,822), of bishoprics (25), of provinces or counties (37), and villages (52,080). The rest of the book describes nine principal lines of communication, giving the distance in miles of the chief towns and stopping-places from one another on each road, with, interspersed, historical and descriptive paragraphs relating to the more important places, and to the most interesting events connected with the localities traversed by the routes described.

The roads are: (i) Dover to London (stated to be 55 miles), in 6 stages; (ii) London to Berwick (259 miles), in 22 stages; (iii) London to Walsingham (92 miles), in 9 stages; (iv) Carnarvon to Chester and London (207 miles), in 17 stages; (v) Cockermouth to Lancaster and London (219 miles), in 19 stages; (vi) Yarmouth to Colchester and London (84 miles), in 10 stages; (vii) St. Burien (near the Land's End) to London (246 miles), in 19 stages; (viii) Bristol to London (89 miles), in 8 stages, and (ix) St. David's to London (197 miles), in 17 stages.

The mileage here given is, apparently, the reputed distance in the sixteenth century, which does not differ very much from the “*Vulgar Computation*”, as recorded by Ogilby towards the end of the following century. It differed very seriously from the measured distances as set out by Ogilby in his *Britannia* of 1675 (London, fol.) and in ‘The Traveller's Guide’ (London, 1699, 8vo.), an abridgement of the *Britannia*.¹

¹ The *Britannia* of John Ogilby was a large folio volume made up of a series of engraved road-outlines on strips with interleaved descriptive text, relating to 85 itineraries. It was reprinted under the title: ‘*Itinerarium Angliae*; or a Book of Roads . . . of England and Dominion of Wales’, also folio. These works are both of 1675. There was also an edition of 1698. The ‘Traveller's Guide’ of 1699 is the first of a series

The following comparison of lengths of three of the above mentioned roads, as given at various periods, illustrates this point :

	Rowlands, 1576.	Harrison, 1577.	Bernard, 1579.	Smith, 1588.	Norden, 1625.	Ogilby, 1675 & 1699.	Cary, 1806.
London to						Vulgar Com- putation.	Meas- ure.
(1) Dover . .	55	55	55	55	58	55	71 $\frac{1}{2}$
(2) Berwick .	259	260	259	258	250	260	339 $\frac{1}{4}$
(3) St. David's	197	197	197	203	190	207	266 $\frac{1}{2}$ (or, 277 $\frac{1}{2}$)

This striking variation between the reputed distances on the English roads, and the distances as first ascertained by the "Actual Survey and Mensuration by the Wheel" of John Ogilby for his *Britannia* of 1675 has long been recognized and is of interest from the point of view both of history and geography.

The descriptive text interspersed throughout the *Guide* does not present anything of much interest. The only warnings to the traveller are contained in two paragraphs, one relating to Shooters Hill, on the Dover Road, and the other to Salisbury Plain :

"Prenez garde à un bois appellé Shuttershyll, ou la montaigne des archers, fort dangereux pour les viateurs et passans à cause que les larrons et volleurs s'y retiroyent par le passé."

"Prenez garde à la plaine de Salesbury lieu fort dangereux à cause des voleurs et brigands qui y font leur repaire quasi journellement."

Camden refers to Salisbury Plain in the following terms (Holland's translation of the *Britannia*, edition of 1637, at page 245): "The Plaines, they are but rarely inhabited, and had in late times a bad name, for robberies committed there", but he does not mention Shooters Hill.

It will be seen that the roads of Bernard's *Guide* are the great trunk-roads of the country; one only, that from London to Walsingham, being of a more local character. The selection of this latter road for description depends on the ancient fame of reductions and epitomes incorporating Ogilby's measurements and information, of which the *Britannia Depicta* (1720 to 1762), London, 4to, is the best known.

of the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, and the character of the road as a well-known route for pilgrims, who, in great numbers, visited this shrine up to the time of the dissolution of the monasteries.

The idea upon which Bernard's publication is based is to be found in a guide to the roads of France issued about a quarter of a century earlier by Charles Estienne, one of a family of printers established in Paris.¹

This work, of which Bernard's guide follows the style and detail as well as the dimensions (*La guide des Chemins et Fleuves de France*), was issued in 1552, and three editions are said to have appeared. In the Library of the British Museum are three separate copies, of which only one bears the name of Estienne, and is of the date 1553. The title is: *La guide des Chemins de France, revue et augmentee pour la troisieme fois. Les fleuves du Royaume de France, aussi augmentez. A Paris, Chez Charles Estienne, Imprimeur du Roy. M.D.LIII.* This should be a copy of the third edition. The little volume contains 268 pages. A second copy, without date, with, approximately, the same text and pagination, has a slightly varied title, and is published: "A Paris, Chez Simon Calvarin, rue S. Jacques à la Rose blanche couronnée"; a third, dated 1566, appears to be an exact textual reprint of the copy previously mentioned, in different type, but omitting the section relating to the rivers of France. It was published at Lyons, by Benoist Rigaud, and is stated, on the title-page, to be "*Veuë, corrigee, et augmentee de nouveau*". Other issues are known: Paris, 1555, 1583; Rouen, 1600; and Troyes, 1623.

It may be proper to add here that two of the earliest maps by Nicolas Sanson the elder (1600-1667) were maps of the roads and rivers of France respectively, under the titles: *Carte geographique des Postes qui traversent la France*, and *Carte des Rivieres de la France curieusement recherchée Par Nicolas Sanson Ing^r. et Geog^r. ord^{re}. du Roy*. Both of them were published by Melchior Tavernier, in Paris. Copies are

¹ He was born in 1504, and died in prison, where he was then lying for debt, in 1564 (*Nouvelle Biographie générale*, tome 16, at page 482).

extant dated as early as 1632 and 1641 respectively, and they occur reprinted in the collections of Sanson's maps of from 1654 onwards. Hubert Jaillot re-engraved the map of the roads in his great atlas of 1696, the map itself bearing date 1693.

The foregoing notes establish a much earlier foundation than has been hitherto assumed to exist for the great series of road-books and itineraries of the British Isles, which continues without interruption from the publication of John Ogilby's *Britannia* (1675) up to the introduction of railways in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, and which has now, in consequence of the advent of the motor-car, been revived in a set of publications appropriate to the new form of road-locomotion.

This small contribution to the bibliography of the subject is offered as a basis for the more complete study which has yet to be compiled.

VII

THE CARTOGRAPHY OF THE PROVINCES OF FRANCE, 1570-1757

THE following paper is intended to outline the growth of the Cartography of the Provinces of France, especially during its earlier period of development, with reference rather to its artistic and bibliographical features than to those bearing on the advance of geographical science.

I have endeavoured to establish, not only the history of the subject for its own value, but also as a basis for comparison with the same art and scientific growth and activity on our own side of the Channel, as it is illustrated in my studies of the maps of Cambridgeshire and the Great Level of the Fens, and of the maps of the County of Hertford.

I have already enlarged, in the Introduction to the study of the Cartography of the English and Welsh Counties, on the debt cartographic science owes to the Low Countries, and have generally exemplified that debt in relation to the early maps of the English Counties, and I need not follow up the subject here.

At the same time it is perhaps as well to point out that to Flanders, and to the provinces of the north of France bordering on that country, France itself is almost entirely indebted for her geographers, and her cartographic artists and engravers. It is difficult to recall the name of any French geographer of note of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who was born west of the Seine. Guillaume Postel, it is true, was a native of Lower Normandy; Maurice Bouguereau, who is identified with the first French atlas, belonged to Tours; but Postel, though a great traveller (for his time), and a man of omnivorous



LE.
THEATRE
FRANCOYS

À V. ROY.

À TOURS
Chez Maurice Bouquereau,
Libraire tenanc jà Bouteique
À la Petue Fontaine du
Carroy de Beaudre.

À V. C. PRIVIL. EGE DU ROY

learning, was not specially a cartographer, and Bouguereau was only the editor and printer of his atlas, formed, in the main, of copies from a variety of maps of earlier dates.

While the starting-point in time of the publication in France of any series of provincial maps is 1594, marked by the appearance of Bouguereau's famous atlas, the *Théâtre François*, published by him at Tours in that year, we must go back to 1570, to Antwerp, and to the celebrated Plantin press in that city and the first publication of a set of maps of the French provinces, appearing in the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of Abraham Ortelius, for the beginnings in this matter. The same year saw the impression of Postel's map of France, of which the unique copy which has survived to our days may be seen in the map-room of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. But the former publication is connected with the town of Tours, for Christopher Plantin was a native of one of the adjoining villages, though it seems uncertain which. Born in 1514, it was not until about the year 1550 that Plantin, after living at Lyons, Orleans, and Paris, and, finally, serving a bookbinder at Caen, and shortly after his marriage with Jeanne Rivière in that town, established himself at Antwerp, and opened a little shop, where he bound and dealt in books, and, a few years later (in 1555), set up his printing-préss, and published his first book, bearing that date.

The history of the famous establishment Plantin-Moretus need not be dwelt upon. After the death of Plantin in 1589, it was continued till 1876, when it was sold to the City of Antwerp, and now forms the well-known museum in the *Marché du Vendredi*.

Preceded by the publication of several individual maps, there issued from this press of Christopher Plantin in Antwerp in 1570 (on May 20th) the first collection of the maps of Ortelius, with a Latin text, of which, year by year almost, fresh editions, always with additional maps, appeared up to as late as 1624, no less than 28 such editions (reckoning duplicates with texts in various languages, and of the same date, and what are known as the *additamenta* as separate

editions) being known up to the date of Ortelius's death in 1598, and a few others having appeared later.¹

This first issue of the *Theatrum*, and those following, up to the year 1572, contained 53 maps only; of these the following relate to France and her provinces:

France, after Jean Jolivet (*Galliae Regni Potentiss: Nova Descriptio, Joanne Joliveto Auctore*), $19\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$.²

Berry, after Jean Chaumeau (*Regionis Biturigum Exactiss: Descriptio Per D. Joannem Calamæum*), $12\frac{1}{4} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$.

Lower Auvergne, after Gabriel Symeone (*Limanic Topographia Gabriele Symeoneo Auct.*), $6 \times 12\frac{1}{4}$.

Calesis and Boulonnais, after Nicolas Nicolaï (*Caletensium et Bononiensium ditionis accurata delineatio. Descripta et edita a Nicolao Nicolai Delphinate Parisijs 1558*), $9\frac{1}{4} \times 13\frac{1}{8}$.

Vermandois, after Jean Surhone (*Veromanduorum eorumque confiniū exactissima descriptio Johanne Surhonio Auctore*), $8\frac{5}{16} \times 13\frac{1}{8}$.

The Coast of Languedoc and part of Provence (*Galliae Narbonensis ora marittima Recenter descripta*), $8\frac{9}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{16}$.

Savoy and part of Burgundy, after Aegide Bulione (*Sabaudiae, et Burgundiae Comitatus descriptio; auctore Aegidio Bulionio Belga*), $8\frac{5}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{16}$.

In the epitome of Ortelius's atlas by Peeter Heyns, also published by Plantin, under the title *Spieghel der Werelt*, in 1577, these seven maps are reproduced on a small scale.

In the editions of the *Theatrum* of 1579 and 1580 the following maps are added:

Poictou, after Pierre Roger, 1579 (*Pictorum vicinarumque Regionum fidiss. descriptio. Auctore Nobili Dno Petro Rogiero Pictone*), $19\frac{7}{8} \times 14\frac{3}{8}$.

Anjou, after Lezin Guyet, 1579 (*Andgavensium ditionis vera et integra descriptio. Licimo Guyeto Andegevense auctore*), $18\frac{9}{16} \times 14$.

¹ Abraham Ortel, or Ortelius, was born at Antwerp on April 4th, 1527, and died there on June 28th, 1598. In 1577 he visited England and Ireland, and met Camden; and it is to this visit, and to the persuasion of Ortelius, that Camden attributes, in the preface to his *Britannia*, the inception of that great work.

² Dimensions in inches.

Picardy, after Jean Surhone, 1579 (*Picardiae, Belgicæ regionis descriptio. Johannes Surhonio auctore*), $20\frac{1}{8} \times 12\frac{15}{16}$.

Burgundy, after Ferdinand Lannoy, 1579 (*Burgundiæ Comitatus Recentiss. Descriptio Dno Ferdinand Lannoyo auctore*), $19\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{3}{8}$.

Artois, after Jean Surhone (*Atrebatum Regionis vera descriptio. Johanne Surhonio Montensi auctore*), $19\frac{1}{16} \times 15$.

And in the epitome, now published in a second edition, in 1583, under the French title *Le Miroir du Monde*, we have the addition of the same maps, similarly reduced in size.

Then, in the editions of 1590 to 1595 of the *Theatrum*, additional maps of the French Provinces appear :

Maine, after Matthew Oger (*Cenomanorum Galliae regionis, typus. Auctore Mattheo Ogerio*), $10\frac{3}{16} \times 14\frac{5}{8}$.

Brittany and Normandy, 1594 (*Neustria. Britanniæ, et Normandiæ Typus*), $9\frac{5}{8} \times 14\frac{5}{8}$.

Lorraine, by Ortelius himself, 1587 (*Lotharingiae nova descriptio*), $19\frac{13}{16} \times 13\frac{7}{16}$.

Duchy of Burgundy, 1584 (*Burgundiæ inferioris, quæ Ducatus nomine censemur, des.*), $17\frac{13}{16} \times 14\frac{11}{16}$.

Provence, after Pierre Jean Bompard, 1594 (*Provinciæ Regionis Galliae, vera exadissimæq: descriptio. Petro Joanne Bompario auctore*), $20 \times 13\frac{3}{4}$.

Another folio atlas of the latter part of the sixteenth century was that published by Gerard de Jode with the title *Speculum Orbis Terrarum*. It is without year or place of publication, but the dedication to the Comte de Lalaing is “*Datum ex Vlissingensi oppido 7. Calend, Febr. 1578*”, and this dedication is by Daniël Cellarius Ferimontanus. At the end of the atlas are three separate licences to print:—Antwerp, 1573; Vienna, 1575; and Brussels, 1577. Amongst the maps in this issue of de Jode’s atlas are one of *Gallia* and the following of French provinces: Berry (on one plate with Piedmont), Burgundy, Vermandois (on one plate with Savoy), Lower Auvergne, the Calesis and Boulonnais (on one plate), and Anjou. Of these *Gallia* is “*Gerardus de Jode Excudeb.*” and “*Joannes à duetecum Lucas à duetecum fecerunt*”. The latter inscription is found also on the maps of Berry and Vermandois; the

others of the series are without indication of author or engraver.

De Jode's atlas reappears in an enlarged form fifteen years later, with the licence to print: "*Datum Antverpiæ anno 1593. Kal. Septembris.*", and, below it, "*Vidua et Hæredes Gerardi de Judæis, suis sumptibus hoc opus geographicum curavere imprimi apud Arnoldum Coninx, Antverpiæ, anno CIJ, IJ, XCIII.*" It has an additional title-page without date: "*Speculum Orbis Terræ. Antverpiæ. Sumptibus Viduæ et Hæredū Gerardi de Judæis*", and is dedicated to the Bishop of Bamberg by Cornelius de Jode. The licence to print is dated 1593. In this issue the map of *Gallia* is of different design from the earlier one published by Gerard de Jode; so also is the map of Burgundy, which bears the inscription: "*Antverpiæ. Excudebat Gerar. de Jode.*" It contains maps of the same provinces of France as in the issue of 1578, with the addition of maps of Artois, Maine, and the Venaisin.

In 1585 Gerhard Krämer, or Mercator, who was born at Rupelmonde, in Flanders, on May 5th, 1512, and settled in 1559 at Duisburg, upon his appointment as cosmographer to the Duke of Juliers and Cleves in that year, where he died in 1594 (December 2nd), published, in anticipation of his "Atlas", a collection of maps of Gaul (*Galliae tabule geographicæ*) which included a map of France, and 11 folio-sized maps, of which all except that of the Boulonnais are double-page, of provinces lying within the area of modern France.

So much of the table of maps as relates to this series is transcribed below, and the titles and sizes of the four out of the 11 which were copied by Bouguereau for the *Théâtre François*, being also set out later, need not be referred to in detail here. In all, in this section of Mercator's publication of 1585 (*Gallia*) there are 25 maps, covering the area of France, the Low Countries, and parts of Germany and

¹ Gerard de Jode had died in 1591. He was born in 1515. Cornelius de Jode was born in 1568 and died in 1600. The de Jodes were a family of engravers. Peter de Jode, the elder, was born and died in Antwerp, 1570-1634. Peter the younger, was also of Antwerp, where he was born in 1602. The date of his death is not recorded. The son of the latter, Armand de Jode, is known as an engraver.

Switzerland. A series of 26 maps of Germany follows, with a separate title: *Germaniae tabule geographicæ*. The whole volume in the British Museum collection, which belonged originally to Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury (1530 or 1533-1604), is of one style, paper, printing, colouring, and ornamentation, the only date (1585) being that on the dedication to the *Gallia*, although there are several engraved sub-titles dispersed throughout the series of maps, followed in each case by a separate list of maps and a separate *Index Locorum*.

THÉÂTRE FRANÇOIS, 1594

With these, and some other scattered materials available as a basis, Maurice Bouguereau, master-printer and publisher, established at "La Petite Fontaine du Carroy de Beaulne", in Tours, stirred by the patriotic idea of producing a collection of maps of the Provinces of France in the form of a National Atlas, began the engraving of the maps with that of a reduction of Postel's map of France of 1570, to which the contract with the engraver set out below refers.

At that time printing-presses had been established at Tours for at least a century. Concerning Bouguereau himself, unfortunately, no information of any value has survived.¹

Of the maps some are undated, those which bear dates are arranged in chronological order as follows:

- 1591. Comté de Blaisoys ; Duché d'Anjou.
- 1592. Picardie ; Calais ; Vermandoys ; Duché de Touraine.
- 1593. Dauphiné, Languedoc, Gascongne, Provence et Xaintonge ; Lorraine vers le Septentrion.
- 1594. Comté de Lymosin.

Undated. France. Duché de Bourgongne ; Lorraine vers le Midy ; Duché de Berry, Limaigne d'Auvergne ; Duché de Poictou ; Duché du Mayne ; Duché de Bretaigne.

This makes the series of maps of France and the Provinces

¹ A facsimile of his signature is given by Dr. Giraudet in *Les Origines de l'Imprimerie à Tours, 1467-1550*, Tours, 1881, 8vo.

number 16, the names being as given in the original list in the atlas, reprinted on page 147, *post*.

A second map of France, after that of Petrus Plancius, almost identical in scale and style with the earlier one copied from Postel's *Gallia*, with the date 1593, is found in a copy of the atlas in my possession.¹ This map has no text on the back, and it was, therefore, probably not in the original issue. In the copy of the atlas in the British Museum the first, and only map of France, is that after Plancius, and the descriptive text appears on the back. In that in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* is inserted a third map of France, after Jean Jolivet, dated 1590.² The title of this map is *Galliae Regni Potentiss: Nova Descriptio Joanne Joliveto Auctore*. The descriptive text found in my copy of the *Théâtre* on the back of the map after Postel is printed on the back of Jolivet's map in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. Thus, it would seem that the Paris copy of the *Théâtre* was originally made up with the substitution of Jolivet's (1590) map for Postel's, while the London copy was similarly made up with the substitution of the map of Plancius (1593) for that of Postel.

In a second copy of Bouguereau's atlas, which I have recently acquired,³ Jolivet's *Gallia* is the principal map, with the descriptive text on the back. Postel's map also occurs, but without the text. It is therefore in the same state in this respect as the Paris copy.

A fourth and smaller map of France is printed on the back of the engraved title-page, or is found attached to that page. It is not dated, nor does it bear Bouguereau's name. The title runs along the top, in a single line: *Galliae Regni Potentiss. Nova Descriptio*. Without this title it measures $8 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ inches, I have found in the British Museum an original impression from the same plate, without the above title, but with a wide, ornamental border running round the whole map containing portraits, figures, and text, and, in an oval plaque, the following

¹ Referred to below as the first Odsey copy.

² The date of publication of the original is 1560. It was also copied in Ortelius's *Theatrum* of 1570, where it measures $19\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$.

³ Subsequently denominated the second Odsey copy.

title and dedication: *Gallia Amplissimo viro, Domino de Beauvoir, Regi Galliae et Navar. a consilijs ectr. apud Serenissimam Angliae Reginam, legato D. D. Jodocus Hondius Fland. Anno 1591.*

A medallion portrait of Henry IV, by Thomas de Leu, with full-length figures representing France and Navarre on either side "Mauricij Boguerealdj Turon. excud." undated, is found in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* copy of the atlas, filling the upper half of page 6. An impression from the same plate is attached to the same page in the first Odsey copy. In the atlas in the British Museum a three-quarter length portrait in armour of the King is substituted for it. This is dated 1593, and is also signed, "Thomas de Leu, fecit. Mauricius Bogueraldus excu." In this copy the small map of France is attached below the portrait.

The work of Bouguereau, in its complete and original form, appears to have consisted of 86 pages, folio, the double-page maps, with a descriptive text on the back, including one double-page map of France (after Postel), making 60 pages, with 26 pages of printed matter, including the title-pages, preface, and a variety of dedications, addresses, sonnets, acrostics, etc., some of them on single leaves. The insertion of the two double-paged maps of Jolivet (1590) and Plancius (1593) would make the whole up to eight pages more, without, however, any additional text. This computation is based on a collation of the Paris, London, and Odsey copies. Another copy of the atlas, preserved at Tours, which I have examined in the municipal library, is in several respects imperfect. The printed title-page is missing, as also is the portrait of Henry IV, and the only map of France is that after Postel, but without the descriptive text which belongs to it. The particulars given by the Abbé Bossebœuf¹ show that it does not differ generally from the other known copies. Yet another copy of this atlas is now known, said to be the only one existing in Germany. It is in the Royal Public Library at Dresden,

¹ *La Touraine et les travaux de géographie*, by the Abbé L.-A. Bossebœuf, Tours, 1894, 8vo.

and contains the three maps of *Gallia* after Postel, Jolivet, and Plancius respectively. I have not, however, had an opportunity of collating it with my copies, but it is said to make up 92 pages, and so probably wants an additional leaf of sonnets found in the second Odsey copy as well as in those in London and Paris, which in each case occurs as a rather smaller sheet of paper than the rest of the leaves in the atlas. If any order of publication can be attributed to these six examples, it would perhaps be :

- (1) Odsey, I, with Postel's map of France (1590).
- (2) Odsey, II; Paris, with Jolivet's map of France (1590).
- (3) London, with Plancius's map of France (1593).
- (4) Tours; Dresden. But the material for placing the copies at Tours and Dresden is not sufficient for the purpose.

This chronology is, to some extent, supported by the fact that the Odsey impressions from the plates in the earlier copy are in a very early state, both clear in the design, and dark in the surface of the plates themselves.

I am not aware of the existence of any further examples than the six mentioned, and the atlas is, undoubtedly, very rare. Others may exist, of course, but the inquiries I have made up to the present both in this country and on the continent have been without further results.

France is singularly bare of early geographical works, and of atlases issued prior to the Revolution. Probably a large number of such works were destroyed in that period of anarchy. Another cause for their disappearance is, perhaps, the widely-spread fashion in that country of making local and provincial collections of maps and plans, which has led to the systematic breaking up by booksellers of atlases and topographical publications. But in all countries maps are apt to be thrown away as they are superseded by those newer and more reliable, and the difficulty experienced in France in making any collection at all complete of the earlier series of atlases is not felt in that country alone.

My earlier copy of the *Théâtre Français* was purchased in London. A contemporaneous inscription inside the vellum cover sets out that it was originally bought at Orleans, on the

7th July, 1600, with the price, though the latter is not very clearly decipherable. The name of "Hen. Savile" is added, and it may be assumed that the volume belonged to Sir Henry Savile, the friend of Bodley, who was regarded as the most profound Englishman in secular learning in the Elizabethan period.

The second copy I acquired from a bookseller at Munich. The engraved title-page with the map and text on the verso and the three following leaves of printed matter are missing. In addition to the map of *Gallia* after Jolivet with text, the map after Postel, plain on the back, is inserted, as also is the extra leaf of sonnets. The rest of the atlas is in good order, and the maps seem all to be fairly early impressions. On the title-page is the inscription: "Collegii Parisiensis Societatis Jesu", showing that this copy belonged originally to Paris. A curious fact, which connects this specimen of the atlas with that in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, is that the printed date on the title-page in both has been altered clumsily in ink in exactly the same manner so as to read 1598 in lieu of 1594.

The maps vary slightly in dimensions, between the extremes of $19\frac{1}{4} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ inches and $18\frac{1}{2} \times 14$ inches. The copy of the atlas in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* stands 16 inches in height, and the paper is $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide; the respective measurements of my copies are $15\frac{5}{8} \times 10$ inches and 16×11 inches, and of that in the British Museum $15\frac{9}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Its second and engraved title-page is reproduced in reduced facsimile (facing page 129). The first title-page, which is printed from type, is fully transcribed below (pages 145, 146).

The following maps can be traced back as more or less exact copies from those of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of Ortelius, editions 1570 to 1595:

(The measurements in [] are those of the maps in
Bouguereau's atlas.)

Picardy. This is an exact copy, but slightly smaller, by Gabriel Tavernier, of the map in the *Theatrum* of 1579 and 1580. The original is dated 1579 ["Cum. Imp. et Reg. privilegio decenn. 1579," in the extreme left-hand bottom corner].

It measures $20\frac{1}{8} \times 12\frac{15}{16}$ [$17\frac{13}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{4}$, without the band along the top].

Calais and Vermandois. A copy of the double plate in the edition of 1570 in which the map of Calais is dated 1558 in the right-hand bottom corner, after the word "*Parisij's*". Its measurements are $9\frac{1}{4} \times 13\frac{1}{8}$ [$9\frac{3}{16} \times 13$]. Vermandois measures $8\frac{5}{16} \times 13\frac{1}{8}$ [$8\frac{1}{4} \times 13$]¹.

Berry and Lower Auvergne. These maps are copied from the double map in the *Theatrum* of 1570², where they measure respectively $12\frac{1}{4} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$ and $6 \times 12\frac{1}{4}$ [$12\frac{1}{16} \times 12$, and 6×12]. That of Berry bears Tavernier's initials.

Poictou. The original is in the *Theatrum*, editions of 1579 and 1580, and is dated 1579. It measures $19\frac{7}{8} \times 14\frac{3}{8}$ [$19\frac{3}{8} \times 14\frac{1}{8}$].

Anjou is copied from the map in the editions of 1579 and 1580, which is dated 1579. It is engraved by Tavernier. The original measures $18\frac{9}{16} \times 14$ [$18 \times 13\frac{5}{16}$].

Four of the remaining maps are directly traceable to Mercator. The originals appear in the collection of maps already referred to, published prior to the famous 'Atlas' (which latter was issued after the death of the author, in 1594) with the title: *Galliae tabule geographicæ Per Gerardum Mercatorem Illustrissimi Ducis Julie Clivie Montis Etc Cosmographum Duysburgi Clivorum editæ Cum gratia et privilegio*. It has a dedication dated "Duysburgi mense Augusto, Anno 1585".

The *Index Tabularum Galliae* contains the following twelve maps relating to the area of modern France: (a) *Galliae universalis*, (b) *Britannia et Normandia*, (c) *Aquitania*, (d) *Francia, Picardia et Campania*, (e) *Bouloigne* (f) *Anjou*, (g) *Berry*, (h) *Poictou*, (i) *Lotharingiae pars septentrionalis*, (k) *Lotharingiae pars meridionalis*, (l) *Burgundia Ducatus*, (m) *Burgundia Comitatus*. Four of them, of which the particulars follow, are reproduced by Bouguereau.

¹ This map also was first published by Plantin in 1558.

² The original of this map of Auvergne appeared for the first time in 1560, from the press of Guillaume Rouillé (1518-1589), a native of Tours, established from about 1545 at Lyons (*Les Origines de l'Imprimerie à Tours, 1467-1550*, already cited).

Dauphiné, Languedoc, Gascony, Provence, and Xaintonge. This is copied very exactly from Mercator's map of Aquitaine, entitled: *Aquitania australis Regnū Arelatense cum confinijs.* The original measures $18\frac{1}{4} \times 13\frac{1}{6}$ [$17\frac{5}{8} \times 13\frac{5}{8}$].

Duchy of Burgundy. Also an exact copy of the map entitled: *Burgundia Ducatus*, which measures $18\frac{1}{16} \times 13$ [$17\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$].

Lorraine (Northern Part). A very close reproduction of the map of the same area of Mercator. The original bears the title: *Lotharingia Ducatus.* It measures $18\frac{3}{8} \times 14\frac{1}{8}$ [$17\frac{15}{16} \times 13\frac{15}{16}$].

Lorraine (Southern Part). Like the above, copied in every detail. Mercator's plate is treated as a second sheet of the map of the Duchy of Lorraine, and has no separate title. This sheet has the dimensions $18\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{4}$ [$18\frac{3}{16} \times 14$].

The Duchy of Maine. One map, that of Maine, seems to be associated with the work of Gerard de Jode, a similar plate occurring in the second issue of his *Speculum Orbis Terrarum*, which appeared in 1593. It may be doubtful whether de Jode copied Bouguereau or Bouguereau de Jode, or whether both designs may not have been taken from some common source at present unknown to us.

De Jode's map of Maine measures $18\frac{1}{4} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ [$17\frac{13}{16} \times 13\frac{5}{8}$]. The general description and details compare closely with the map in Bouguereau's *Théâtre*. The title written, as in the latter, along the top in capital letters, reads: *Nova et integra Cœnomaniae descriptio vulg. la Mans.* In the right-hand bottom corner is written: "Prostant Antverpiæ apud Gerardum de Jode." The marginal notes in panels in the left-hand top corner and the right-hand bottom corner are partly in Latin and partly in contemporaneous French.

Both may indeed have been based on Ortelius's map in the *Theatrum* (editions of 1590 and 1595), but Bouguereau's map is larger than the latter, and has more the appearance of an original delineation of the province of an early date. It is engraved by Tavernier, but no indications of the source from which it is derived are given in the marginal notes, which are partly in Latin, and partly in contemporaneous French. The

title, in Latin, in large capitals, runs in a band along the top: *Nova et Integra Cæomaïæ Descriptio Vulgo, le Mans* [$17\frac{1}{16} \times 13\frac{5}{8}$].

One map only of Bouguereau's series remains without any historical basis, namely, that of Brittany.

The Duchy of Brittany. It is possible that this map may have been drawn after that of Brittany, Normandy, etc., dated 1594 in Ortelius's *Theatrum* of 1595, or from the same materials. It has no indications upon it as to the author or engraver. The title runs in large open capitals, in a band along the top of the map: *Description * Du * Pays * Armorique * A * Près * Bretaigne **. The whole text is in French, which points to a contemporaneous source, rather than to a derivation from Ortelius, Mercator, or other cartographers of the Dutch or Flemish school. [$18\frac{3}{8} \times 16$.]

There remain three maps which are the production of local and French cartographers, and are, apparently, published for the first time by Bouguereau. They are all engraved by Tavernier, and the authors (Jean du Temps, a native of Blois, Jean du Fayen, a Limousin, and Isaac François of Tours) as well as Lezin Guyet (an Angevin) are referred to by Bouguereau, in his address to the reader, as examples of local cartographers whose patriotic efforts to forward geographical study in their own provinces are worthy of imitation.

These maps may be allowed a more particular description.

Blaisois. This map measures $12\frac{5}{8} \times 18\frac{3}{8}$, and has a double-ruled border, with the degrees and minutes of latitude and longitude marked on it. Along the top, below the border, in large capitals: “*Description du Pais Blaisois.*” In an ornamented, rectangular panel, below this title and rather to the left-hand side of the map, a long Latin description of the position, area, etc., of the district, and, in the right-hand top corner, another similar panel, nearly square, the upper part filled with particulars of latitude and longitude, in French. In another panel, on the right-hand side of the map, near the bottom: “*Joannes Temporarius faciebat Blesis Anno Messiae nati 1592. Epoche Christianæ 1590. Mundi 5610,*” and, below it: “*Cæsarodunj Turonum in Aedibus Mauricij*

Boguerealdi." Quite in the left-hand bottom corner: "Avec Privilège du Roy 1591," and along the bottom of the map a scale of leagues. Upon it, at the left-hand end, a panel containing: "La cinture de la terre est divisée en 360 degrés A chacun degré nous donnons 25 lieues. Toute la cinture contient 9000 lieues." Above this panel, the monograph of Gabriel Tavernier: "G.Tfe.". The map itself is boldly engraved, showing the boundary of the *Comté*, the rivers with bridges, the towns and villages, and forests and scattered trees.

Touraine. The measurements are $17\frac{1}{16} \times 14\frac{1}{4}$. The border is narrow, divided up by alternate shaded and blank spaces, which are, however, not numbered with the degrees and minutes of latitude and longitude. In the left-hand top corner, an escutcheon with arms (three fleurs de lis and three castles) within a border of wreaths. A little below, against the left-hand border of the map, a list of places, in two columns, numbered 1 to 20. In the right-hand top corner, in an ornamented, rectangular panel, in the upper part particulars of the geographical situation of the Duchy in Latin, and, below: "AB ISAACO FRANCO Regio *Ædui* necnon in ea provincia viarum magistro perlustrata ac descripta. Anno domini. 1592." In the left-hand bottom corner is a similar upright panel, with a coat-of-arms in the upper part of the ornamental border, and Tavernier's monograph at the foot. It contains a long dedication to the Mayor of Tours, François Maille, and is signed: "A Tours, le 25. feburier. 1592. M. Bouguereau."¹ In a small panel, near the bottom of the map, rather towards the right-hand side: "Cæsaroduni Turonum Impensis Mauricij Boguerealdi Cum Privilegio Regis ad decennium 1592," and, to the right of this panel, a scale of leagues, with a pair of compasses and other instruments resting upon it.

The map is in the same style, and has the same details as

¹ It appears that the design for this map was already completed as early as the spring of 1591. On April 1st of that year Bouguereau laid an illuminated and decorated copy before the municipality of the city of Tours, and stated his intention to publish it "taillée en cuivre par taille douce". He was assisted in his work by a present of thirty crowns from the municipal chest, and the incident remains to this day duly recorded in the archives of the city. *La Touraine et les travaux de géographie* (Bosseboeuf), already cited.

that of Blaisois. The city of Tours, and its bridges and surroundings, are rather specially elaborated.

Limousin. $19 \times 13\frac{15}{16}$. In a narrow border of four plain-ruled lines. In the left-hand top corner, the following title, in an upright-oval panel: “*TOTIUS LEMOVICI ET Confinium provinciarum quantum ad diæcesin lemovincensem spectant. Novissima et Fidissima Descriptio. Aut. Jo. Fayano M. L. Cæsarodunij Turonum, in Ædibus Mauricij Boguerealdj. Anno 1594. G. T. F.*”, and, in the right-hand top corner, a “*Plan de la Ville de Lymoges*”, showing in relief the walls, churches, houses, and other details, with letters referring to a list of the names of localities in a rectangular panel below, in the lower part of which is a short Latin address to the reader. Above the plan, on either side, is a small coat-of-arms. In the left-hand bottom corner is another rectangular panel, with a “*Scala Miliariorum*” along the top, and a laudatory paragraph in French, signed by Joachin Blanchon, and, in the right-hand bottom corner, two similar panels, the smaller, at the top, containing an elaborate coat-of-arms, and the lower one a long Latin dedication to the Duc de Vantadour by Fayen, dated “*Lemovicae 4^o Id. Febr. An. 1594*”.

This map does not differ materially in character or details from the two described above, but some hills are shown.

Although the maps thus brought together from various sources are reduced to a uniform size, the variation of scale, which must have, naturally, occasioned enormous difficulties for the earlier cartographers, is remarkable. The following is the enumeration given by M. Ludovic Drapeyron: “*Milles de France grands et communs (Galliae milliaria magna, communia); milles de Lorraine, petits, moyens et grands (Lotharingiae milliare parvum, mediocre, magnum); milles de Poitou communs et grands (milliaria pictonica, communia, magna); milles d'Aquitaine (Aquitaniæ miliaria); milles de Provence (Provinciæ miliaria); lieues de France (Leucœ Galliæ); lieues de Bretagne.*”¹

¹ *Le premier atlas national de la France (1589-1594), par M. Ludovic Drapeyron. Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive. Année 1890, No. 1, Paris, 1890, 8vo.*

The historical study of the *Théâtre François* of Bouguereau, and of the circumstances of its production, date from 1889 only, in which year its existence was first made known to the modern geographical world by M. Drapeyron¹—when it was, in fact, discovered. For some time the name of the Flemish engraver employed by Bouguereau, as mentioned in his preface, was a matter of discussion and doubt, and the small monogram of two initials which occurs in the *cartouche* of seven of the maps was much canvassed. In 1902, however, there was discovered amongst the notarial records of the period still preserved at Tours the actual contract between Bouguereau and *Gabriel Tavernier*, his engraver, for the work to be done on the first map of the famous atlas.

This contract I venture to transcribe, not only as an interesting record of the facts it sets forth, but also as an example of the system pursued for many centuries in France for the verification of contracts by their formal inscription on notarial rolls.

It runs :

“Le huictiesme jour de février l'an mil Ve quatre vingts et dix, en la cour du roy nostre sire à Tours, fut présent en sa personne estably et deûment soubzmis Gabriel Tavernier, graveur en cuivre, flamant, dem^t à Paris rue Sainte Jehan de Latran, à l'enseigne de la Samartaine, parre^e St Benoist le bien tourné, estant de présent en ceste ville de Tours.—Lequel a promis et promet par ces présentes à honorable personne Maurice Bouguereau, marchant libraire, demeurant audict Tours parre^e St Saturnin, présent et acceptant, de luy tailler et pocher en une table de cuivre, qui luy sera baillée par led. Bouguereau, une carte de France de Postel, pareille à celle que led. Bouguereau luy a ce jourdhui montrée en une fueille de papier et icelle rendre faite et parfaite, de pareille forme et grandeur, au plutost que faire se pourra, à commander dedans huict ou dix jours prochains venants et continuer sans intervalle jusques ad ce que lad. besongne soit faite et parfaite et sans qu'il puisse entreprendre autre besongne pour y travailler que lad. carte ne soit faite.—Et pendant le temps que led. Tavernier sera à faire lad. carte sera tenu led. Bouguereau le loger et luy fournir de lit et bois pour se chauffer bien et honnestement selon sa quallité, moyennant et à raison de douze sols par jour qui luy seront déduits sur ce qui se treuvera luy estre deu

¹ *Le premier atlas national de la France (1589-1594)*, already cited.

pour la fasson de lad. carte ; pour laquelle carte faire sera tenu led. Bouguereau luy payer la somme de vingt six escus sol, assavoir moitié lad. besogne my faite et le reste lad. besogne faite et parfaite comme dessus est dit.—Et quant à tout ce que dessus obligent les d. parties l'une à l'autre, eulx et leurs hoirs et biens, et mesme led. Tavernier son corps à tenir prison, nonobstant, promettant, renonçant. Ce fut fait aud. Tours en l'estude dud. notaire après midi en présence de Martin Gentilz et Loys Rochebouet praticien aud. Tours témoings. (*Signed*) : Gabriel Tavernier, M. Bouguereau, Foucher."

Two and a half months later the completion of the contract was thus recorded :

"Et le vingt troisième jour d'avril mil V^e IIII^{xx} dix, en présence de moy, notaire royal à Tours soussigné et des ei dessous scripts led. Gabriel Tavernier a confessé avoir reçeu dud. Morisse Bouguereau la somme qui luy estoit due et que se pouvait monter et revenir pour la besongne par lui faite pour led. Bouguereau comme aussy led. Bouguereau a confessé lad. besongne bien et deument estre faite : dont et de tout le contenu d'iceluy accord ils se sont tenus pour comptant et se sont quittés et se quittent l'un l'autre ! "

This map, then, of France is a reduction from that of Postel, of which perhaps the only example which has survived to our days hangs on the walls of the map-room of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, in Paris. The latter measures about $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches \times 20 inches, and bears a dedication to Charles IX, and the date 1570. Tavernier's copy reproduces the original very fairly both in style and details. As already noticed, his monogram is seen on the map of Picardy, and it occurs also, in slightly varied forms, on the maps of Berry, Limousin (1594), Anjou, Blaisois (1591), Touraine (1592), and Maine of Bouguereau's series. It may, probably, be safely assumed that the whole of the maps contained in the atlas were engraved by him.

Who this Gabriel Tavernier was has not been exactly determined. The Tavernier family came from Antwerp and was for several generations established at Paris, following the profession of engravers and publishers of maps. According to the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (tome 44, at pp. 934-5),

¹ *L'atlas de Bouguereau. Bulletin trimestriel de la société archéologique de Touraine*, t. xiii. Tours, 1902, 8vo.

in its article on Melchior Tavernier the elder (1544-1641), the publisher of the *Théâtre Géographique* described below, this latter is believed to have been the second son of an "artiste huguenot nommé Gabriel, qui passa en France vers la fin du seizième siècle, et qui établit à Paris un commerce de cartes géographiques et une imprimerie en taille-douce".¹ It is, of course, possible that an elder or other brother of Melchior was named Gabriel, and was the Flemish engraver who became stranded at Tours about 1589 or 1590. In the second generation from the original Gabriel four brothers are noted in the *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, namely, Melchior (1594-1665) engraver at Paris, Jean-Baptiste (1605-89), a traveller, Daniel, who also travelled and died at Batavia, and Gabriel, a jeweller. They are supposed to have been sons of a Gabriel Tavernier, and nephews of Melchior the elder. If these indications are to be relied on, there seem to be two probable Gabriel Taverniers, father and son, father and brother of the elder Melchior, to whom the engraving of the maps published by Bouguereau at Tours between 1590 and 1594 could be attributed. Coming from Antwerp, where it is said the elder Melchior had been a pupil of Ortelius, and thus familiar with the maps and geographical publications of that centre of cartographic research, and driven from Paris by the anarchy which reigned in that capital, Tours was the natural refuge of the first Gabriel, and the contract of 1590 may well have been made with him.

The first and printed title-page of the atlas sets out in detail the object aimed at, and runs as follows :

"Le | Theatre Francois, | ou sont comprises les | chartes generales et par|ticulieres de la France. | A chascune desquelles avons adjousté l'Origine de la Province, et de ceux qui y ont | commandé, de leur Antiquité, et choses remarquables. Comme aucunes d'icelles ont esté | annexées à la Couronne de France. De l'Ancienne division

¹ M. Paul Bergmans of Ghent has given me the name of another engraver of the Tavernier family. Writing (28 August, 1909) of Gabriel Tavernier, in reference to my notes here printed, he says: "Je pense qu'il se rattache au graveur de caractères et imprimeur Aimé Tavernier qui travaillait à Anvers dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle, et était originaire de Bailleul, dans la Flandre française."

des Gaules, Celticque, Aquita-[nicque, Belgique, et Narbonnoise. De celle de maintenant divisée par les Parlemens, des | Sieges, Bailliages et ressorts dependants tant en general qu'en particulier souz chascun des-|dicts Parlemēs. Des Duchez, Sieges, Bailliages, Seneschaussées, et autres Cours subalternes. | De leurs Evesques, des affaires qui se sont passées en chacune Province, joint des choses re|marquables de notre temps, et de leurs Limites et estendue. | Enrichy et aorné sur chacune Charte et Province d'excellents vers | Heroïques, tirez de plusieurs Geographes et | Poëtes, tant anciens que modernes. | Au Roy. | A Tours. | Par Maurice Bouguereau, Imprimeur et Libraire demeu-|rant en la rue de la Seellerie, devant la Trinité. | M.D.XCIII. | Avec Privilege du Roy. | ”

I have transcribed also the address to the reader, and the directions for the binder, which are printed on the back of the first leaf, of which the printed title forms the first page, as being explanatory, at first hand, of the undertaking.

“ Advertissement aux benevoles Lecteurs. Messieurs, la bonne volonté qu'ay euë d'illustrer ma Patrie, lors que ceste ville de Tours estoit en ce temps de Troubles et Guerres Civiles le reffuge des gens de bien, s'adressa à moy ung Graveur Flamand, auquel apres avoir faict Graver en Cuyvre la Charte de France, je fus lors stimulé, de continuer le Theatre François : et audict temps faict graver les autres Chartes particulières des Provinces que voyez en ce livre, dont en ay recouvert, partie d'icelles non jamais veuës. Je vous prieray donc à l'exemple des subscripts, tant pour l'amour et decoration de vostre Patrie, et l'illustration de vostre nom. Que si en vos provinces ou estes resseants, se trouvent hommes entendus en la Geographie, les stimuler et accourager de faire en pareil, que Maistre Jean du temps, Blaisoys. Maistre Jean du Fayen, Limosin. Maistre Isaac Frāçois, Touranjeau. Lezin Guyet, Angevin, et les autres. Ausquels ay faict present des exemplaires gravez et Imprimez pour en gratififier leurs amys ou les dedier comme ils verront. Ce que se trouvant parmy vous, vous supplieray affectueusement me les envoyer à Tours, pour les mettre au rang des autres Chartes, ensemble quelques memoires dignes de louange et remarque de la Province. Ce que faisant je feray mon devoir. A Tours le quinziesme Octobre, mil cinq cens nonante quatre¹. A Dieu. Vostre Serviteur et amy desirieux d'Illustrations, Maurice Bouguereau.

¹ Bouguereau himself made a formal presentation of a copy to the city,

Advertissemnt au rellieur pour le rang des Chartes. (i) La France, (ii) La Picardie, (iii) Calais, (iv) Le Vermandoys, (v) Le Dauphiné Languedoc, Avec la Gascongne Provence et Xaintonge, (vi) La Duché de Bourgongne, (vii) La Lorraine vers le Septentrion, (viii) La Lorraine vers le Midy, (ix) La Duché de Berry, Avec la Limaigne d'Auvergne, (x) La Comté de Lymosin, (xi) La Duché de Poictou, (xii) Le Comté de Blaisoys, (xiii) La Duché de Touraine, (xiv) Le Duché du Mayne, (xv) La Duché d'Anjou, (xvi) La Duché de Bretaigne."

Finally, I add, by way of note, a bibliography of the principal modern contributions to the study of Bouguereau's work, and of its surrounding historical associations.¹

It will be remarked, in comparing the birth of local geographical study in France and England, that, while in the latter country Christopher Saxton laid a scientific foundation for the delineation of the surface of the country by an actual, though necessarily imperfect, survey of the whole area, upon which survey and the 34 maps drawn by him provincial maps of England and Wales were, with some help from the surveys of Norden in a few districts, based for a very considerable period, in France no such effort was made. The state of that

and, by a resolution of the municipal council of the 12th July, 1595, a gîst of 12 crowns was made to him and recorded in the following terms:—"en reconnaissance du grand labeur employé par lui, et afin de lui donner moyen de supporter la despense qui lui a convenu faire pour rendre l'impression et exécution dudit livre à la perfection, il lui sera fait don de douze écus, et son livre sera mis au trésor des chartes de la ville." (Bossebœuf, already cited.)

- ¹ 1890. Drapeyron, Ludovic. *Le premier atlas national de la France (1589-1594).* Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive, année 1890. Paris, 1890, 8vo.
- 1890. Drapeyron, Ludovic. *L'évolution de notre premier atlas national sous Louis XIII.* Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive, année 1890. Paris, 1890, 8vo.
- 1894. Bossebœuf, L'Abbé L.-A. *La Touraine et les travaux de géographie.* Tours, 1894, 8vo.
- 1894. Drapeyron, Ludovic. *Notre premier atlas national et la Ménippée de Tours sous Henri IV.* Paris, 1894, 8vo.
- 1902. Langlois, Ludovic. *L'atlas de Bouguereau.* Bulletin trimestriel de la Société archéologique de Touraine, tome xiii. Tours, 1902, 8vo.
- 1902. Beaumont, Le Comte Charles de. *La carte du duché de Touraine en 1592.* Bulletin trimestriel de la Société archéologique de Touraine, tome xiii. Tours, 1902, 8vo.

country, during the long period of internal war and political and religious strife which coincided in point of time with cartographic progress elsewhere, is a sufficient explanation of the impossibility of carrying a geographical survey through the various provinces, or of compiling maps on any systematic basis for the whole kingdom.

To this very state of things, especially affecting the metropolis at the time of Bouguereau's publication, is it due that the first National Atlas of France—as it has been somewhat grandiloquently denominated—appeared at Tours, a city which was then the refuge, not only of the Court, but also of all that Paris could afford of taste and art, and of the skilled professions.

To it Bouguereau refers in his address to the reader cited above, and the subject is kept in mind in the addresses, verses, and prayers which are intercalated throughout the volume, and present in themselves a good deal that is of historical interest.

So much having been said on the subject of the famous atlas of Bouguereau, dealing with it as the foundation of the Cartography of the Provinces of France, it remains to sketch out the progress of that science during the period ending with the publication about a century and a half later (in 1757) of the great atlas of Robert de Vaugondy. This long period I can only deal with here by taking as illustrative the work of a few of the more prominent representative geographers by whom it was adorned. The selection I propose to make is of the works of:—

- (i) 1594. Maurice Bouguereau—now already dealt with.
- (ii) 1620. Jean Le Clerc.
- (iii) 1634. Melchior Tavernier.
- (iv) 1658. Nicolas Sanson.
- (v) 1757. Robert de Vaugondy.

To be in any way complete the lives of the geographers Pierre Duval (1618-83), nephew and pupil of Sanson, Claude de Lisle (1644-1720) and his son Guillaume (1675-1726), Charles Hubert Jaillot (1681-1717), J. B. B. d'Anville (1697-1782), Philippe Buache (1700-73), as well as those of the two

younger sons of Nicolas Sanson (Guillaume and Adrien) and of others besides, and their voluminous works would require study. Such a study of the whole French school of cartography, so famous during a period extending over at least a century, is quite beyond my present limits, and I must repeat here, what has been already hinted at, namely that the present paper has no pretensions to being exhaustive, and aims rather at laying the foundation of interest and study than the endeavour to complete the study itself.

THÉÂTRE GÉOGRAPHIQUE DU ROYAUME DE FRANCE.
1620 [1617].

Jean Le Clerc took up Bouguereau's work pretty much where he left it, making use of the latter's plates unaltered and adding others of his own.

His atlas, under the above title, was issued in the same folio size as that of Bouguereau, measuring, in a copy in the University Library, Cambridge, about 16 inches in height by $11\frac{1}{4}$ in width.

I have a copy (1621) of this atlas which is somewhat taller, measuring $16\frac{3}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height and width of paper respectively.

Very little is known positively of his life, though his death can be approximately fixed in 1621 or 1622 by the fact that the edition of his atlas of 1621 bears his own name, while that of the following year was published by his widow, but M. Drapeyron, in his paper on the *Évolution de notre premier Atlas National sous Louis XIII*, already referred to, and to which I am indebted for much of the information contained in the following pages touching the life and work of Le Clerc, has constructed, from such slight materials as exist, something in the nature of a biographical outline. From the statement in the address cited below, it appears that he had fled from Paris to Tours at the commencement of the reign of Henry IV. He may, probably, have been associated with Bouguereau in the publication of his atlas, and in this way have become possessed of the plates from which his maps were engraved, of nearly all of which Le Clerc subsequently made use. The

address to the King (Louis XIII), appended by his son, and successor,—also Jean Le Clerc—to an edition of the *Théâtre Géographique* (the last under the original title) published by him in 1631, and set out *in extenso* in M. Drapeyron's work, suggests the conjecture that Le Clerc's atlas first appeared in 1617. This is supported by the fact that three of the maps it contains, bearing Le Clerc's name as printer, are dated in this year, or earlier (Champagne, 1616; le Pays Messin, 1617; Dombe, 1617). The general map of the world (*Carte Universelle*), which is the frontispiece map of the atlas, is a copy of a map by Mercator, engraved by Jodocus Hondius, bears Le Clerc's name as that of the printer, and is dated as early as 1602.¹

Ignoring altogether Bouguereau, the address of 1631 goes on to put forward the elder Le Clerc as the promoter and author of the original *Théâtre François*, claiming even for him the 14 or 15 (*sic*) plates engraved at Tours. Though this claim is fraudulent, the further statements that, since the 22nd March, 1594, the date of the capitulation of Paris to Henry IV, the atlas had been made up to 35 maps, three of them being maps of the Isle de France, and connected with the struggle between Henry of Navarre and the forces of the League for the possession of Paris, and that, after the death of his father, he himself, the younger Le Clerc, had had 15 more maps engraved, accord with the facts of publication of the various later editions of the *Théâtre Géographique*. The address goes on to speak of a total of 53 plates finished at that date, but one of the lists of maps printed with the edition of the atlas of 1626 gives 49 maps only, which does not quite agree with the total of the maps of the two Le Clercs previously referred to. Taking credit for the whole of this work, as well as for the descriptive matter annexed to each map, the younger Le Clerc presents his atlas as the *Théâtre François* to Louis XIII with much ceremonious phraseology.

¹ Of this date also are the following maps engraved by Le Clerc, after Hondius, which have been inserted in a copy of the *Théâtre Géographique* in my library:—*Nova Universi Orbis Descriptio*; *Europa*; *Asiae Nova Descriptio*; *Africæ Tabula*; *Americæ Novissima Descriptio*. The last-mentioned bears an original date of 1589.

Of the work of the Le Clercs, five editions are known, 1620 (39 maps), 1621 (45 maps), 1622, 1626 (49 maps), and 1631 (52 maps). A further edition, published by Jean Boisseau in 1642, under the title *Théâtre des Gaules*, contained five additional maps of recent acquisitions of the French Crown, as well as maps of foreign countries, 75 maps in all being catalogued in the table of contents.

Jean Le Clerc was established from the year 1585 in Paris, in the rue Frementel, at the sign of the "Estoile d'Or", as an engraver, and also as a bookseller and publisher. Works of earlier date bearing his name are known, and it is said that he had been a pupil of the celebrated painter and engraver Jean Cousin (1500-1589). In 1585 he published an *Abbrégé de l'Histoire Françoise*, of which a corrected and enlarged edition was issued at Rouen, by Jean Petit, "avec ce qui s'est passé jusqu'en février 1612." It is suggested by M. Drapeyron that this is the work referred to by Bouguereau in his address to the King which formed the preface to the *Théâtre Français* of 1594, but which does not appear to have been ever issued by him.

Except for the statement that Le Clerc left Paris for Tours (no doubt, after the day of the Barricades, May, 1588), we know nothing positive as to his residence or movements until we find him back in Paris in 1617. It is supposed that in the meantime he had been at Rome, but the evidence upon which this suggestion rests is slight.

Wherever he had been in the meantime, Le Clerc issued in Paris, from the rue Saint Jean de Latran, at the sign of the "Salamandre Royale", a further edition of the *Abbrégé*, corrected up to the year 1617. From this same address the editions of the *Théâtre Géographique* of 1620 and 1621, as well as that of 1622, published by his widow, appeared. Previously, Le Clerc had issued (probably in Paris), ornamented with elaborate addresses to the King, and to the reader, the great map of France of François de la Guillotière, engraved on wood, in nine sheets, presented to Louis XIII in 1612 or 1613, and of which the preparation extended over sixteen years (1596-1612).

As the 1617 edition of the *Théâtre Géographique* is unknown, the two remaining issues by Le Clerc in his lifetime (1620 and 1621), both of which have printed lists of the maps they contain, must be taken as the basis of study of this work.

The following is the full title common to these two editions : “*Theatre | Geographique | du Royaume | de France. | Contenant les Cartes et Descriptions particulières des Provinces d’iceluy. | Oeuvre nouvellement mis en lumiere : | Avec une Table, où sont les noms de toutes les Cartes | de chacune desdites Provinces. | A Paris, | Chez Jean le Clerc, rue Saint Jean de Latran, | à la Sallemandre Royale. | M.DC.XX | [and M.DC.XXI.] Avec Privilege du Roi.*” |

Including the *Carte Universelle*, of which the title runs : “*Orbis Terræ Novissima Descriptio. Auctore Gerardo Mercatore nuperimè verò juxta recentiores Cosmographos aucta et recognita. I. Hondius sculp. I. le Clerc excu. 1602,*” and the *Carte Générale de la France*, which is a reprint of Plancius’s map as reproduced by Bouguereau under the date 1593, the atlas of 1620 contains 38 plates (39 maps), according to the table, which agrees with the enumeration in the preface of the younger Le Clerc of 1631 already quoted, that is to say if the three maps of the Isle de Paris are intended by him to be additional to his total of 35 maps. The complete list is as follows :—(i) *Carte Universelle*, (ii) *Carte générale de la France*, (iii) *L’Isle de France, avec le Siege*, (iv) *L’Isle de France*, (v) *Gouvernement de l’Isle de France*, (vi) *Valois*, (vii) *Beauvaisis*, (viii) *Picardie*, (ix) *Calais, et* (x) *Vermandois*, (xi) *Le Pays de Caux*, (xii) *Bretagne*, (xiii) *Anjou*, (xiv) *Le Maine*, (xv) *Touraine*, (xvi) *Blaisois*, (xvii) *La Beausse*, (xviii) *Gastinois*, (xix) *La Brie*, (xx) *Champagne*, (xxi) *Lorraine vers le Septentrion*, (xxii) *Lorraine vers le Midy*, (xxiii) *Le Pays Messin*, (xxiv) *Luxembourg*, (xxv) *Poictou*, (xxvi) *Saintonge*, (xxvii) *Limosin*, (xxviii) *Bordelais*, (xxix) *Quercy*, (xxx) *Berry, et* (xxxi) *la Limagne d’Auvergne*, (xxxii) *Bourbonnois*, (xxxiii) *Duché de Bourgongne*, (xxxiv) *Lionnois Forest, et* *Masconnois*, (xxxv) *Dombe*, (xxxvi) *La Bresse*, (xxxvii) *Le Pays de Genevois*, (xxxviii) *Daulphiné, et* *Languedoc*, (xxxix) *Provence*.

Of these, numbers 2, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21, 22, 25, 27, 30, 31, 33, and 37, or 16 maps (15 plates), are from Bouguereau's plates, unaltered. Bouguereau's map of Blaisois is not reprinted, but is replaced by one of the same district engraved by H. Picart. Otherwise the whole of the former's plates, except those of the maps of France after Hondius, Postel, Plancius and Jolivet, appear in this edition of Le Clerc's atlas.

Three maps are found bound up in this atlas (Paris copy) which are not referred to in the table, namely:—Normandie (1620), Retelois (no date), Loudunois (1620). They all bear Le Clerc's name, and are found enumerated in the printed list in the issue of the atlas of the following year. In that issue, in addition, there are three new maps, all by Le Clerc:—Pays d'Aulnis et Rochelois (1621), La Franche-Comté (no date), and Le Comtat d'Avignon (no date); so that this atlas consists of a total of 45 maps.

I have a copy in my collection which has been augmented by additional plates up to a total of 82, the original printed list being added to in manuscript.

The atlas in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* dated 1622, with a title-page very slightly altered in the arrangement of the lines from those of the previous editions, issued “A Paris, | Chez la veufve Jean Le Clerc, rue saint Jean de | Latran, à la Sallemandre Royalle. | M.DC.XXII.” |, turns out, upon examination, to be a *ramassis* of contemporaneous maps by various engravers, in which those of Bouguereau and Le Clerc have been in many cases replaced by maps of other authors. It has no printed table, and must be altogether discarded in the study of Le Clerc's work. Its only value, apart from the interest of the individual maps it contains, is that it serves to fix pretty closely the date of his death. The next edition of the atlas, that of 1626, as well as that of 1631, both published by the widow, are supplied with printed tables of contents, of 48 titles relating to 47 plates and 49 maps. The additions in the earlier copy, as compared with the list of 1621, are the four following maps:—Boulenois, Perche, Dauphiné, and the Pays de Sarlat and Périgord, in one map represented by two separate titles in the list. To this number of maps the edition of the atlas of

1631 has the further addition of the three following maps, according to the printed list in a copy in the Library at Angers, which I have had an opportunity of examining:—"Pays entre la Garonne et la Dordogne, Partie septentrionale du Languedoc, Partie méridionale du Languedoc," making up 52 in all. The final form in which Le Clerc's collection appeared, the atlas published by Jean Boisseau, with the new title: *Théâtre des Gaules*, has a list containing the titles of 75 maps, and the copy in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* contains actually 82. The widow was still alive in 1632, in which year she published a new edition of the great map of La Guillotière.

For a critical examination of the cartographic value of the contributions of the Le Clercs, father and son, to the delineation of the French Provinces the atlases themselves must be referred to.¹ M. Drapeyron, in his *Évolution de notre premier Atlas National sous Louis XIII*, already frequently cited, gives many interesting particulars, and may be consulted on the whole subject. Several of the maps are also particularly described in a *Bibliographie des Cartes et des documents cartographiques*, by M. Edgar Mareuse.² They have the style and details usual in maps of the period. Damien de Templeux, Sieur de Frétoy, was the draughtsman of at least seven of Le Clerc's maps, the larger number are engraved by Hugues Picart (nine) and François de la Hoye, two only by Salomon Rogers. Drapeyron gives as the "Cartographes dont les œuvres sont insérées dans les Atlas de Le Clerc et de Boisseau" the following:—Bachot, de Beins, Bompard, Chastillon, de Chièse, Classun, Clerville, Damien de Templeux, Fabert, de la Hoye, d'Humerolles, Jubrien, La Guillotière, Le Clerc, Mareschal, Pierre Loisel, Hugues Picart, Picquet, Rogers, Tarde, Trincant, and adds—"Parmi eux, les uns sont des topographes, les autres des dessinateurs, les autres des

¹ The various editions of Le Clerc's atlas of which I have examined copies are found in the following libraries:—1620, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris; 1621, University Library, Cambridge; Odsey; 1622, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris; 1626, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris; Odsey; 1631, *Musée, Angers*; 1642, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris.

² *Conférence des sociétés savantes, littéraires et artistiques de Seine-et-Oise, tenue à Versailles Juin 1902.* Paris, 1902, 8vo.

graveurs, les autres des éditeurs. Leur participation plus ou moins grande aux travaux signalés est marquée par ces expressions diverses : *fecit*, *delineavit*, *sculpsit*, *incidit*, *excudit*."

THÉÂTRE GÉOGRAPHIQUE DU ROYAUME DE FRANCE, 1634.

Melchior Tavernier, of whom mention has been already made, borrowed Le Clerc's title for a similar undertaking, of which the earliest copy appears to be one in the British Museum. It has the following title: "Theatre | Géographique | du Royaume | de France. | Contenant les Cartes particulières des Provinces d'iceluy. Avec les Circonvoisines, | et celles des Frontieres. | A Paris, | Chez Melchior Tavernier, Graveur et Imprimeur du | Roy pour les Tailles douces, demeurant dans l'Isle du Palais sur le Quay | qui regarde la Megisserie, au coin de la ruë de Harlay, à la Rose rouge. | M.DC.XXXIV." There are, in fact, two atlases of Tavernier's maps with this title in the Museum Library; they contain 80 and 95 maps respectively, many of them being common to the two volumes. In the *Bibliothèque Nationale* is a very miscellaneous volume, without a title, containing 104 maps, many of them Tavernier's, but this Library does not appear to possess any better exposition of his work.

I possess a copy of Tavernier's atlas dated 1637, in very good order, with title-page and list of maps. The title, slightly varied from that of 1634, runs: "Theatre | Géographique | du Royaume | de France. | Contenant les Cartes et Descriptions particulières des Provinces | d'iceluy, avec celles des frontieres et pays adjacents. | Y compris une Table où sont les Noms | de toutes les Cartes de chacune desdites Provinces et Frontieres. | A Paris, | Chez Melchior Tavernier, Graveur et Imprimeur | du Roy pour les Cartes Géographiques, Marines et Tailles-douces, | demeurant en l'Isle du Palais sur le Quay qui regarde la | Megisserie, à la Sphere Royalle. | M.DC.XXXVII. |" A "Table des Cartes contenues au present volume" follows, and includes a "Table des Cartes frontieres" containing 16 titles, and the same number of maps

engraved on 20 sheets. The whole table contains 86 titles, representing the same number of individual maps, printed on 93 sheets. This is the most complete and satisfactory specimen I have seen of the collection of maps issued by Tavernier.

A printed list of contents is inserted in one of the British Museum atlases containing 74 titles, of which 51 are of France and her provinces. This list is pretty certainly of 1634. In the collection itself, with which it is associated, some of the maps catalogued are missing, while others not in the printed list are found in the volume, the whole number (80) being set out in a manuscript list, which appears to have been drawn up by an English writer towards the end of the eighteenth century, and is written on the back of the printed table.

Another printed list is in my collection, purchased some years ago at Auxerre, with a dozen or so of Tavernier's maps, in a dilapidated condition, bearing dates from 1627 to as late as 1646. It will be remembered that Melchior Tavernier, the elder, died in 1641, and, thus, the atlas to which my "Table des Cartes contenues en ce Livre" belongs may, probably, have been published from his collection of plates five years after his death. This list contains 60 titles. Of these 36 are of France and the French provinces, to which four more, classified under the subheading "Frontières de France", namely:—Artois et Boulonnois, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, and Navarre, may be added, making 40 in all. Three or four of these are more in the nature of the "war maps" of particular districts, to which I refer later, than of provinces or other administrative districts.

From an examination of these collations it appears that Melchior Tavernier printed or incorporated in his atlases at least 70 maps relating to France, and the list may be made up as follows:—(i) France Moderne, (ii) Gouvernement de l'Isle de France, (iii) L'Isle de France, (iv) Vallois, (v) Picardie, (vi) Beauvoisis, (vii) Vermandois, (viii) Bologne et Guines, (ix) Pays de Caux, (x) Normandie, (xi) Bretagne, (xii) Bretagne (a second map), (xiii) Anjou, (xiv) Maine, (xv) Touraine, (xvi) Perche, (xvii) Blaisois, (xviii) Orleanois, (xix) Beausse, (xx) Gastinois et Senonois, (xxi) Brie, (xxii) Champagne,

(xxiii) Pays et Diocese de Rheims (4 sheets), (xxiv) Retelois, (xxv) Lorraine vers le Septentrion, (xxvi) Lorraine vers le Midy, (xxvii) Messin, (xxviii) Poictou, (xxix) Xaintonge, (xxx) Loudunois, (xxxi) Pays d'Aunis, Ville et Gouvernement de la Rochelle, (xxxii) Costes de Poictou, Aunis, La Rochelle, et Fort Louys, L'Isle de Ré et ses Forts, (xxxiii) Costes de la Rochelle, Broüage, et de l'Isle d'Oleron, (xxxiv) Bourdelois, (xxxv) Guyenne, (xxxvi) Bearn, (xxxvii) Limosin, (xxxviii) Berry, (xxxix) Bourbonnois, (xl) Nivernois, (xli) Lionnois, Forest, et Beaujolois, (xlii) Bresse, (xliii) Duché de Bourgogne, (xliiv) Franche-Comté, (xlv) Languedoc Septentrional, (xlvi) Languedoc Meridional, (xlvii) Diocese de Sarlat, (xlviii) Quercy, (xlix) Provence, (l) Comtat d'Avignon, et Orange, (li) Dauphiné, (lii) Isle S. Honorat et Sainte Marguerite, (liii) Languedoc, (liv) Navarre, (lv) Artois et Boulonnois, (lvi) Artois, (lvii) Perigort, (lviii) Poictou, Angoumois, et pays d'Aunis, (lix) Auvergne, (lx) Vicomté de Turene, (lxi) Diocese d'Alby, (lxii) Sedan et Raucourt, (lxiii) Dombes, (lxiv) Costes de Marseille, (lxv) Costes de Thollon et d'Hierres, (lxvi) Costes de Grimault, Frejus et Antibes, (lxvii) Golfe de Grimault, (lxviii) Diocese d'Aire, (lxix) Potamographie de Garone, (lxx) Mirebalais.

The collation of the maps in the various volumes containing some at least engraved by Tavernier is, however, exceedingly difficult, as the maps attributed to him and those associated with them are very largely from foreign sources.

The volumes in the British Museum stand, as now bound, and, no doubt, somewhat cut down from their original dimensions, $16\frac{3}{4}$ and $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height and 12 and $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide respectively. My copy stands $16 \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The maps they contain, being copied from a great variety of original materials, vary much in size. Many of them are taken from plates of Jodocus and Henricus Hondius, Joannes Janssonius, Guillaume Blaeu, and others of the same school, and a good number are from Le Clerc (including his incorporation of those of Bouguereau).

The fact appears to be that Tavernier was rather an editor and atlas-maker than a cartographer on any general scale.

It would seem that the great majority of the maps in his publications were impressions from original plates engraved by others and incorporated with the few he himself produced. In some cases Tavernier's name is added in the form : "Et se vendent a Paris chez Melchior Tavernier demeurant sur l'isle du Palais a la Sphere" (map of the Vermandois), or with similar phraseology, as for instance : "A Amsterdam. Imprimé chez Henrÿ Hondius, et se vend a Paris chez Melchior Tavernier demeurant aupres du Palais."

If Tavernier had any distinctive style of his own, it must be sought for in the maps he seems actually to have engraved in connexion with the military movements during the reign of Louis XIII, maps coarsely drawn, but clear, and without superfluous ornament. These maps of the "seat of war" deal with the famous siege of La Rochelle, with the campaign of a few years later in Italy, with the war in the Grisons, over the question of the possession of the Valteline and with some naval operations for the conquest from the Spaniards of Islands on the Mediterranean Coasts, but some of these latter are without the name of author or engraver, and even without title. The earliest examples of this series of maps were engraved in 1625. They present a certain interest as probably the first systematic work of this kind, especially if they are studied with the military and political memoirs of the period, as, for instance, the *Mémoires du Maréchal de Bassompierre* (1579-1646), who played a leading part in the wars of the period.¹

¹ The titles and dates of what I class as military maps are, as far as they have been traced, as follows :

- 1625. Carte et Description Generale de la Valtoline.
- 1625. Chartre de la Suisse, de la Retie, ou des Grisons, de la Valteline, du Valay, et autres Seigneuries Voisines Exactement dressees sur les Lieux par Gaspar Baudouin Ingenieur Militaire et Capitaine de l'artillerie du Roy d'Espagne en l'Estat de Millan.
- 1627. Carte du Pais D'aunis, Ville et Gouvernement de la Rochelle.
- 1627. Carte Particuliere des costes de Poitou Aunis, et de la Rochelle et du fort St Louys comme aussy de l'Isle de Ré avec ses forts.
[With inset plans of the Fort de la Prée, and the Fort de St. Martin.]
- 1627. Carte de la Coste de la Rochelle a Brouaige et de l'Isle d'Oleron. Observee par le Sr de Chatillon ingenieur du Roy. [With an inset map in the left-hand bottom corner showing the south of

It will be seen that Tavernier's work as an engraver, but principally as a publisher only, extends from at least as early as 1625 till his death, at an advanced age, in 1641. He thus fills the period between Jean Le Clerc (who died in 1621 or 1622), and Sanson, whose greatest activity in map production culminated in the early fifties of the century.

CARTES GÉNÉRALES DE TOUTES LES PARTIES DU MONDE.
1658 [1654].

The most celebrated of French geographers, Nicolas Sanson, was born at Abbeville on December 20th in 1600, and died in Paris on the 7th July, 1667. He came of an old Picardy family of Scottish descent. His first publication is said to have been a map of ancient Gaul in six sheets, which he had completed when he was only 18 years old, but which was not printed until 1629. According to Robert de Vaugondy (*Préface Historique*) he was obliged to establish himself at Paris in consequence of difficulties with his engraver Melchior Tavernier. His three sons Nicolas, Guillaume and Adrien assisted him, and the two latter succeeded him in his geographical work, the eldest, Nicolas, having been killed in the day of the Barricades, in Paris, in 1648. Guillaume Sanson died in 1703 and Adrien in 1708. It was to these latter that Jaillot owed the materials for his great atlas of 1692. Sanson's grandson, Pierre Moulard Sanson, followed the same profession as his grandfather and uncles, and it is to a succession

England, the Channel, and the coasts of Normandy, Brittany and Poictou, with the title:—Pour plus facile explication de ceste Carte nous avons issy representé une Partie des Costes de France et d'Angleterre.]

1630. Carte Generalle de la Savoie du Piemont duché de Monferrat Marquisat de Salusses et Pais Circonvoisins avec la Representation au vray des Vallees de Suze Pragellas et autres.

Similar maps undated, and some of them without titles, may be associated with the above :

Description du Cap de la Croix Isles S^{te} Marguerite et S^t Honorat. Golphe de Grimaute.

Carte Particulière des Costes de Provence.

A map without title showing the coast adjoining Marseille, inland as far as Aix, and including the Mer de Berre.

Another showing the coast-line from Nice to Grimaute.

from him (who died in 1730) that Robert de Vaugondy the elder owed, in part, the materials upon which he and his son in their turn based the *Atlas Universel* of 1757. The remainder of the stock of plates and other geographical materials of the Sansons had passed into the hands of one of the Mariette family, from whom it was purchased by Vaugondy.

Sanson published more than 300 maps. The earliest collection with a printed title with which I am acquainted is one dated 1658 in the British Museum. This title runs as follows:—“*Cartes Generales de Toutes les Parties Du Monde, ou les Empires, Monarchies, Republiques, Estats, Peuples, etc. de l'Asie, de l'Africque, de l'Europe, et de l'Americque, tant Anciens que Nouveaux, sont exactement remarqués, et distingués suivant leur estendue. Par le Sieur Sanson d'Abbeville, Geographe ordinaire du Roy. A Paris, Chez l'Autheur, Dans le Cloistre de Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, près et joignant la grande Porte du Cloistre. et Chez Pierre Mariette, rue Saint Jacques, à l'Esperance M.DC.LVIII. Avec Privilege du Roy pour vingt ans.*”

This copy contains 82 maps enumerated in a manuscript list.

I have myself a copy of this atlas, with dated title-page, and, printed on the third and fourth pages of the same sheet as this title, a “*Table des Cartes Generales de Toutes les Parties du Monde*”. This list, which is the only one I have yet seen in print associated with the earliest dated title of an atlas of Sanson's maps, and is, indeed, the only printed list of his maps known to me, contains 113 titles. The first three are a *Mappe-Monde*, a *Hydrographie* and a *Harmonie*, which are followed by 9 maps, under the heading *Asie* (Nos. 4 to 12), 8 (Nos. 13 to 20) under that of *Africque*, and 77 under the heading *Europe* (Nos. 21 to 97), and, finally, by 16 maps (Nos. 98 to 113) headed “*Les Cartes pour la Geographie ancienne, sont*.”

In this set only 14 titles, numbered 33 to 46, relate to France and her provinces, viz.:—(i) *Le Royaume de France en general*, (ii) *Rivieres de France*, (iii) *Postes de France*, (iv) *Gouvernement general de Picardie, Artois, Boulenois, et*

Pays reconquis, (v) Duché et Gouvernement de Normandie, (vi) Isle de France, Champagne, et Lorraine, (vii) Duché et Gouvernement de Bretagne, (viii) Gouvernement d'Orleans, et des Provinces circonvoisines, suivant les derniers Estats généraux, (ix) Les deux Bourgongne, Duché et Comté, (x) Gouvernement general du Lyonnais et des Provinces circonvoisines, suivant les derniers Estats généraux, (xi) Gouvernement general de Guienne et Gascogne, et Pays circonvoisins, (xii) Gouvernement general de Languedoc, divisé en ses vingt-deux Dioceses, (xiii) Gouvernement general du Dauphiné, etc., (xiv) Comté et Gouvernement de Provence.

Another atlas with the same title is in the British Museum, dated 1667, and, being published after the death of Sanson by his two surviving sons, is "Par les Sieurs Sanson d'Aberville, Geographes | ordinaires du Roy." | It has 102 maps.

I have also in my collection an atlas of Sanson's maps without title, and with a manuscript table of contents only, which appears to be in its original state and vellum binding, and to have been published earlier than the atlases mentioned above, no map being dated later than 1654 (ten being so dated), and the two frontispiece maps of the two hemispheres bearing the dates 1651 and 1652, respectively, as in the later editions.

From these indications we may place the first collection by Sanson in atlas form at 1654. My copy contains 100 plates, with 101 maps, the plate number 26 in the series including two distinct maps (Perche and Blaisois). It is in large folio form, measuring $17\frac{1}{8}$ inches in height \times 12 inches in width, and contains 31 maps of France and the French Provinces; following the manuscript list which is in a contemporaneous hand:—(i) France, (ii) Rivieres de France, (iii) Postes de France, (iv) Provinces de l'Église Gallicane, (v) Provinces des Parlemens, (vi) Picardie, (vii) Normandie, (viii) Diocese d'Evreux, (ix) L'Isle de France, (x) Diocese de Paris, (xi) Champagne et Brie, (xii) Diocese de Reims, (xiii) Bretagne, (xiv) Orleannois, (xv) Diocese du Mans, (xvi) Perche et (xvii) Blesois, (xviii) Beauce, (xix) Diocese d'Orleans, (xx) Nivernois, (xxi) Bourgogne, (xxii) Lionnois, (xxiii) Bourbonnois, (xxiv) Guyenne et Gascogne, (xxv) Perigort, (xxvi) Diocese d'Ayre

en Gascogne, (xxvii) Languedoc, (xxviii) Diocese d'Alby, (xxix) Dauphiné, (xxx) Provence, (xxxii) Principauté d'Orange.

What is, apparently, the earliest atlas of Sanson in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, has the title and date of the edition of 1658. It contains 124 maps. I have not been able to examine it with any care.

Fifteen out of the thirty-one maps enumerated above occur in the British Museum atlas of 1658. One additional French provincial map is found in the latter, dated 1648, engraved by R. Cordier, and bearing the title:—Isle de France, Champagne, Lorraine, etc. None of these maps are found in the atlas of 1667.

Of the 100 plates, 38 are undated. Of the remainder the following are the number of maps dated in each of the years mentioned:—1632, 1; 1640, 2; 1641, 2; 1642, 3; 1643, 2; 1644, 1; 1646, 2; 1647, 1; 1648, 11; 1650, 8; 1651, 5; 1652, 8; 1653, 6; 1654, 10—an enumeration which gives some indication of Sanson's activity in the production of maps during his career as a cartographer.

An examination of this series shows that Sanson employed at least five engravers, besides Melchior Tavernier, whose name appears on nine of the earliest maps, 1632-43,¹ and Pierre Mariette,² who, as publisher rather, probably, than engraver, has his name on no less than 32, dating from 1640 to 1654. Of the five, Jean Boisseau engraved but two maps, in 1642 and 1644 respectively. The name of A. de la Plaes occurs on one of Tavernier's maps of 1640, on one of 1647, and on three of 1648. A. Peyrounin's name first appears in 1646 (two maps), and again in 1650 (six maps); R. Cordier begins to engrave in 1648, in which year he is credited with six maps, and in 1650 with two, in 1651 with one only, and in 1652 with two. Jean Somer, or Sommer (to whose name on later maps the designation "*Pruthenus*"—a Prussian—is added) was, finally, a principal engraver in Sanson's establishment. He engraved, from 1651, 17 of the dated maps.

¹ Tavernier died in 1641.

² Pierre Mariette, the earliest known of the Mariette family, died December 18th, 1657.

Of the undated maps the name of Pierre Mariette is on no less than 29, that of A. Peyrounin on 12, and Jean Sommer's appears on eight.

Amongst other occasional names found here and there in the whole series, are those of Pierre Du Val¹ (eight maps), Ph. de la Ruë (four maps), and those of several of the earlier Dutch and Flemish engravers. Nicolas Sanson *fils* is the author of one map only, that entitled: "Estats du Czar ou Grand Duc de la Russie Blanche ou Moscovie," undated, and engraved by Peyrounin.

This analysis shows that Sanson's principal collaborators were, at an early stage, Melchior Tavernier and Pierre Mariette, both as publishers, and, as engravers, A. Peyrounin, R. Cordier, of Abbeville, and Jean Sommer.

In the whole series of maps in my atlas, Pierre Mariette's name is on 61, Peyrounin's on 20, Cordier's on 11, and Sommer's on 25.

I have no clue to any other maps of the French provinces certainly attributable to Nicolas Sanson the elder, and published in his lifetime, or immediately after his death.

The activity of his sons and successors no doubt accumulated additional material, and the very large folio atlas published by Hubert Alexis Jaillot, for which the younger Sansons supplied the maps, no doubt gathered up all those of France and its provinces which existed at the date of the first edition (1692).

Before noticing Jaillot's work, I should call attention to the publication, contemporaneously with the early collections in atlas form of the maps of Sanson, namely in 1655, of the miniature atlas of Nicolas Tassin. This is a small oblong, quarto volume, bearing the title: "Carte Generalle | de la Geographie Royalle | par le Sr Tassin geographe du Roy | a Paris | Chez N. Berey proche les Augustins | 1655." | It contains in all 84 maps, including those of France and its provinces. These latter have a separate title and are numbered throughout in a group with those of Spain, the subtitle

¹ 1619-1683.

running: "Cartes Generalles | de toutes les Provinces de France et | d'Espagne, reveues et corrigées, par | le Sr T. Geograp^{he} ordinaire | du Roy | A Paris chez N. Berey | au bout du pont neuf proche les | Augustins aux deux globes (*sic*)."¹ The subtitle is not dated. It is followed by a table of contents which contains 76 titles, of which 52 relate to France. This number points to a very complete collection of the maps extant at that time of the provinces and other divisions of France. The maps are, throughout the whole of this miniature atlas, uniform in style and measurement (about 6 inches \times $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches), and are delicately engraved in a narrow, ruled border, without engraver's or printer's name, or dates, or other indications. On the frontispiece map (the two hemispheres) of the whole volume is "N. Berey exu.", and "H. Picart fecit", so that it is possible that the latter was the engraver of the whole series.

The very large folio atlases of the Jaillots began to appear about 1689, preceded by a number of individual maps engraved after the earlier designs of Sanson. These atlases, under the title *Atlas Nouveau*, went through a series of editions, of which that of 1696 seems to be the most complete. The copy of this date in the Library of the British Museum contains only 15 maps of France and her provinces. A copy of the same date in my collection contains 16 of such maps, to which should be added two of the districts of the Maritime Alps and the Pyrenees respectively. The Jaillots seem to have endeavoured to produce a general atlas rather than to have paid any special attention to the details of their own country in its geographical divisions.

An atlas of the same size, approximately, was published in the early part of the eighteenth century by Guillaume de L'Isle (1675-1726). In this publication—in a copy, which seems to be pretty complete—in the British Museum, of which the map of France is dated 1703, and the provincial maps of that country from 1704 to 1719, eighteen of the latter only are found. De l'Isle, who followed his father, Claude (1644-1720), is said by Robert de Vaugondy, in his *Préface Historique*, to have engraved 84 maps, of which 13 were of ancient

geography. It seems evident that the fashion at this period was setting in the direction of world-atlases, and this is exemplified in the work of the great French geographer of the eighteenth century, J. B. B. D'Anville (1696-1782), whose atlases and collections do not include any provincial maps. D'Anville published as many as 212 maps, which collected formed the *Atlas Général* of 1737.

Ph. Buache, who worked with D'Anville, succeeded to his accumulated materials and continued his publications.

ATLAS UNIVERSEL. 1757.

The great atlas published under this title by Didier Robert de Vaugondy, at Paris, in 1757, closes my series. It was effectively the last important effort of French cartographers so far as the publication of a series of maps of the French provinces in atlas form is concerned, as, though a general atlas, it contains such a series based on materials which have already been discussed. The cartography of France in the remainder of the eighteenth century took the form of large-scale maps of the kingdom. France, indeed, gave the first example of a complete cartographic survey at the cost of the state, and the triangulation of that country was so far advanced in the middle of the eighteenth century, that the first sheet of the "Carte Géométrique de la France", on a scale of 1 : 86,400, a map which was published in 182 sheets, appeared just half a century earlier than the publication of the first sheet of the one-inch Ordnance Survey map of the United Kingdom. This map is the work of César-François Cassini (1714-84) and his son, and involved 45 years' work (1744-89). A map of France of similar style, and in fact a reduction from Cassini's map, appeared in 1789. It was the work of Louis Captaine, and is in 24 sheets and on a scale of one-fourth of the larger map. On the 7th February, 1790, the provinces of France, and the immense network of local jurisdictions, were swept away by a decree of the National Assembly, and all future sentimental interest in the local administrative divisions of the country was thus destroyed.

Under these circumstances the *Atlas Universel* is properly

chosen to close the study of the cartography of the provinces of France, which I have commenced at an epoch two centuries earlier.

The authors, Gilles Robert de Vaugondy (1688-1766), and his son Didier (1723-86), were both Parisians, the former succeeding to the share of the accumulated materials which had descended to his uncle Pierre Moulard Sanson, and, according to the preface of the atlas, acquiring the remainder of these materials later by purchase. Thus the atlas is claimed to have direct succession from the atlases of Sanson, Jaillot's atlas of the end of the previous century (1692) being regarded as a collateral development. However this may be as regards Jaillot, the *Atlas Universel* stands in a direct line from Sanson. The elder Robert de Vaugondy also published, in 1748, a small quarto atlas containing 136 maps, under the title *Atlas Portatif, Universel et Militaire*, which included 18 maps of France and her provinces, and other works. His son issued in 1755, at Paris, in 12mo, an *Essai sur l'histoire de la géographie*, subsequently printed as an introduction to the *Atlas Universel*. The atlas has an elaborately engraved title-page, and the title: "Atlas | Universel, | Par M. Robert Geographe ordinaire du Roy, | et | Par M. Robert de Vaugondy son fils Geographe ord. du Roy, et de | S. M. Polonaise Duc de Lorraine et de Bar, et Associé de | L'Academie Royale des Sciences et belles Lettres de Nancy. | Avec privilege du Roy. | 1757. | A Paris |

Les Auteurs Quay de l'Horloge du Palais. |
Chez Boudet Libraire Imprimeur du Roi, ruë St. Jacques."

This is followed by an "*Avertissement*", and the "*Préface Historique*", which latter runs to 33 folio pages, printed in double columns, and is stated to be enlarged and corrected from the original and separate issue of 1755. The preface is followed by a table of the contents of the preface itself and a list of the maps contained in the atlas, showing 103 plates, and a list of the names of the subscribers to the edition in large paper (numbering 601) and in small paper (numbering 517), and particulars of the prices of the work in these two forms, and of five additional maps of the roads of Italy, Spain,

Germany, England, Scotland and Ireland, and France, proposed to be published as additional to the 103 maps of the atlas. These lists of subscribers are of interest, including as they do the names of a great number of persons of distinction and learning in all parts of Europe, very fully set out, as well as those of the most eminent booksellers of the period. In the paragraphs placed at the head of these lists it is stated that the work had occupied 15 years, having been published in five sections, originally of 100 maps, but augmented to 103.

The following out of the 103 is the list of the 22 maps (25 plates) of France and her Provinces: (i) France par Gouvernemens, (ii) Picardie et Artois, Boulinois, et Flandre Françoise, (iii) Normandie, (iv) Bretagne, (v) Maine et Perche, Anjou, Touraine, et Saumurois, (vi) Orléanois, Beauce et Gâtinois, (vii) Isle de France, (viii) Environs de Paris, (ix) Champagne (in two sheets), (x) Lorraine, (xi) Alsace, (xii) Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, et Aunis, (xiii) Marche, Limosin, et Auvergne, (xiv) Berri, Nivernois, et Bourbonnois, (xv) Bourgogne-duc'hé, et Lyonnaise (in two sheets), (xvi) Bourgogne-comté (in two sheets), (xvii) Bourdelois, Périgord, Agénois et Bazadois, (xviii) Quercy et Rouergue, (xix) Gas-cogne, Basse Navarre et Béarn, (xx) Languedoc, (xxi) Dauphiné, (xxii) Provence.

The atlas has the dimensions $20\frac{3}{8}$ inches in height and $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width. The maps are uniform in style and engraving, differing markedly from those of the earlier atlases in this characteristic. They are nearly uniformly 19 inches in height, but vary in width, in general, between 21 and 24 inches, some few being even wider. Each map is dated. Those of the provinces of France run from 1749 to 1756, namely, in 1749, 1; in 1750, 1; in 1751, 3; in 1752, 4; in 1753, 9; in 1754, 3; and in 1756, 1.

Of the whole series just over one-half of the maps (52) have no engraver's name, of the remainder 32 bear the name of Haussard, with or without the initial E, or, in some few cases, with other initials. Guillaume Delahaye's name appears on 12, and that of Delahaye *l'aîné* on 6, including two in which

other names are associated with it. In five cases only are found the names of other engravers, who only appear to have been casually associated with the Vaugondys' undertaking. The engraving is good, clear and artistic, and the *cartouches*, or ornamented panels containing the titles of the maps, are, in general, real works of art, delicately engraved with designs and ornamentation, associated in each case with the natural products and special features of the province or country delineated.

From the point of view of the standard and progress of the artistic delineation of surface and the development of adventitious ornament in map-designing, a comparison may be made to illustrate the state of this art in the three centuries to which my investigation relates. For example, the map of Picardy of 1592, engraved by Gabriel Tavernier, is so exact a copy of that of Abraham Ortelius of thirteen years earlier, that, although not French in its origin or art, it may be usefully examined as typical of the progress of cartographic delineation in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Sanson's map of the South-East of England and Picardy, of 1654, is a very representative specimen of the work of the first great French geographer, and of one of the numerous engravers he employed, R. Cordier, of Abbeville, as produced in the middle of the following century. Finally, the map of the *Environs de Paris*, with the *cartouche* dated 1753, the work, probably, of the engraver E. Haussard, is typical of this form of art in its comparatively modern form, and in that state to which it had attained before the uniformity of exact geography had destroyed ornament and the beauty of delineation as applied to maps. Other examples can be readily chosen for comparative examination, but, to establish a clear conception of the actual progress achieved in France during the period covered by this study, the atlases themselves to which I have directed attention should be placed side by side.

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